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PREFACE

In the hope that this volume might be ready by the date set, April 7th, 1937, we initiated the work early in 1936. We were, however, over-optimistic and it is now clear that it will be six months late, and that only the ready coöperation of our collaborators has made even this date possible.

It remains for us to thank them for their patience in all the difficulties due to the time element, and to explain that any errors are doubtless ours and not theirs, since they were obliged to waive more than a single proof.

Moreover, we are most grateful to another group of friends,—those who, by their contributions toward the expense of printing this volume, enabled us to undertake its preparation.

Finally our thanks are due to the Meriden Gravure Company and to the Waverly Press in Baltimore, not only for their work but for their coöperation in making the publication financially possible.

ROBERT P. CASEY
SILVA LAKE
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Cambridge, Massachusetts
May 3, 1937

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

My father's first interest in life was sociological. His first book, unfortunately never published, was a history of the London Dock Strike. He had intended to read law and to head for a political career. An overdose of exercise, too soon after influenza, affected his heart and the doctors told him that law and politics were out of the question. He was delicate and the church seemed to give the opportunity for a living and for some influence over the society that interested him. He went to Lumley in Durham and for a year preached to the pitmen and miners in that North Country mining district. I do not believe that theology entered very much into his sermons, but he did conduct *The Mikado* and he still tells the story of the brawny pitman who, having rescued him from the attack of a drunken navvy from a neighbouring village and listened to his comments on the situation, said "Mon, he's no much to look at, but has he no a bonny tongue?"

His heart failed him again and his health required the less rigorous climate of the South. He became a curate at St. Mary's in Oxford and found himself once more, not entirely by choice, in an essentially academic atmosphere. Curates are not too heavily endowed and his marriage meant a growing need for money. Cataloguing Greek manuscripts in the Bodleian Library brought in a valued 2/6 an hour and aroused an interest in the Synoptic problem. He wrote a simple outline of Textual Criticism and sold it with the understanding that from time to time he would bring it up to date. It is a remarkable indication, not only of the value of the manual but of the foresight of the publisher that it was re-edited in 1928 for the eighteenth time.

It was, I believe at this point that my father began to doubt the teachings of the church and to think in terms of history and exegesis rather than theology and parish difficulties. He has often said that the turning point in his belief in the church came when his Vicar suggested that prayers be said at Vespers for a Mr. Brown, since the doctor had just announced that there was no hope for him. The story may be apocryphal but I think it is indicative of his point of view.

In 1903 he was offered the chair of New Testament Exegesis at Leiden and willingly accepted. For ten years he taught there,

happy in the intellectual freedom of the University, happy in his friends in The Hague, where he frequently preached in the English Church, and happy in the society of his colleagues. I think I am right in saying that of the several academic honours he has received during his career, few have given him as much pleasure as the degree bestowed on him by the University of Leiden a few years ago.

In 1913 he was asked to give the Lowell Lectures in Boston and to teach for a year at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass. Much as I think he enjoyed himself that year, it could hardly have occurred to him that his trip to the United States was to lead to a permanent emigration. A few weeks before the time had come to return to Europe, he was offered a professorship at Harvard. The opportunities for his work in this country were too tempting to refuse. Technically, there was no chair vacant, but the money was found for his salary and in a few years he succeeded to the Winn Professorship of Ecclesiastical History,—a chair which he held until circumstances forced him to resign it and join the Department of History in the College in 1932.

It would be an impertinence on my part to discuss my father's scholarship. The publication of these articles in this form are sufficient in themselves. His academic work and books are already known to the reader of this introduction. It is not impertinent however, for me to speak of him as a teacher and a friend. His work at Harvard has, broadly speaking, fallen into three classes. The first includes his seminars with those few advanced students interested in the New Testament and in early texts. The second, his courses in Church History, largely given for some few students of history and those members of the Divinity School who intend to teach or to go into the church. The third, and in many ways the most important, is his course on the Bible as literature, given to a large group of undergraduates. In these lectures he presents his own philosophy of life, his conceptions of reality and his knowledge of the world as he has seen it in three different countries, illumined by his great sympathy and understanding of youth. To the minds of many alumni of Harvard College, these lectures go to make up this much of his life's work. His historical research may influence scholars in years to come, but his influence on hundreds of young men must live, and it is in this that those of us who are not scholars can join in tribute with those who are.

GERARD K. LAKE

*New York,
April, 1937.*

THE SIBYL AND BOTTLE IMPS

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It is a commonplace in the history of popular literature that august personages of ancient legend may degenerate in folktales to paltry and pitiable figures. That this was the case even with the Sibyl, the inspired prophetess of Apollo, appears from a passage in Petronius (*Sat.* 48), where Trimalchio says:

Nam Sibyllam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis vidi in ampulla pendere, et cum illi pueri dicerent: Σίβυλλα, τί θέλεις· respondebat illa: ἀποθαεῖν θέλω.

According to a story related by Ovid the Sibyl had asked of Apollo the gift of as many years of life as there were grains in a handful of sand, but had forgotten to ask for the gift of continued youth; hence she says:

tempus erit cum de tanto me corpore parvam
longa dies faciet, consumptaque membra senecta
ad minimum redigentur onus.¹

To be confined in an ampulla, the body of the Sibyl was evidently supposed to have shrunk away to almost nothing; and so, exhausted with age, she craved release by death. Dr. Montague Rhodes James observed many years ago (*Class. Rev.* VI, 74) that the story is parallel to that of Tithonus; and he drew attention to a group of German folk-tales in which a woman who wishes to live forever has her wish granted, and in her shrunken decrepitude lives motionless in a hollow of a pillar in the church, or in a basket or a bottle hung in the church. There she lies torpid, rousing herself once a year to eat a little bread or, according to one story, to cry "For ever! for ever! for ever!" and then relapse into coma.²

¹ See Ovid, *Met.* 14, 129-153, and Serv. on Aen. 6, 321.

² These stories are found in Kuhn und Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen, und Gebräuche*, pp. 70-71; Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen, und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig Holstein und Lauenburg*, no. 217, pp. 158-159. They are conveniently condensed in Frazer's note on Pausanias x. 12, 8. There is little doubt that the German tales represent a mediaeval vulgarization of the classical stories.

These stories and the myth of Tithonus all belong to the type or formula of "The Short-sighted Wish,"³ it is irrelevant whether the fatal wish is made by the person who suffers from its consequences, or by another, as when Eos desires immortality for Tithonus but forgets to ask for eternal youth for him (Hom. Hymn V, to Aphrodite, 220-224). The purpose of this paper is to suggest that another folklore theme may play a part in the popular legend of the Sibyl. But before entering upon that question it is advisable to examine some other passages that deal with her final resting-place.

Paus. x. 12, 8: χρησμών δὲ οἱ Κυμαῖοι τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης οὐδένα εἶχον ἐπιδείξασθαι, λίθου δὲ ὕδριαν ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ δεικνύουσιν οὐ μεγάλην, τῆς Σιβύλλης ἐνταῦθα κείσθαι φάμενοι τὰ ὅσα. Here ὕδρια is a cinerary urn, as in Plut. *Philop.* 21, Lucian *Dem. Enc.* 29.

Pseudo-Justin, *Cohort. ad Graecos* 37 (p. 35 E), speaking of Cumae and the Sibyl: αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενοι παρὰ τῶν περιηγητῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, τῶν καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἡμῖν ἐν οἷς ἐχρησμέδει ὑποδείξαντων καὶ φακὸν τινα ἐκ χαλκοῦ κατεσκευασμένον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ λείψανα αὐτῆς σώζεσθαι ἔλεγον. Here the vessel shown is said to contain the remains of the Sibyl; but it is not a hydria, but a φακός, a name which, properly applied to a lentil, clearly indicates a flattened flask, comparable to Petronius' *ampulla*. The word is used of an oil-flask in 1 Kings (Samuel) x. 1. The definition *coffin* in the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott, referring to Justin, but citing no particular passage, is probably a bad guess about the text just cited, prompted by the mention of the Sibyl's remains.

Lucius Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis*, viii. 16 (ed. Assmann): Bargylo est fanum Veneris super mare. . . Sed et Herculis aedes antiqua; ibi <e> columpna pendet cavea ferrea rotunda in qua conclusa Sibylla dicitur. *Bargylo* (Bargylos, a town in Caria) is Roth's emendation of *Argiro*, the reading of the sole manuscript, Salmasius' copy of the lost codex of Dijon. From this passage it would appear that the Sibyl had been confined, while still living, in a cage; for *cavea* could not mean a funerary urn or a casket.

It is natural to think that the narratives that represent the Sibyl as confined, while still alive, in a bottle or a cage are merely the product of a wonder-loving imagination working upon a more

³ See Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Vol. 4, No. J 2072 (Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 109, 1934).

sober story, to the effect that the relics of the venerable prophetess were deposited in a small urn—*σμικρὰ λείψαν' ἐν βραχεῖ τεύχει*. It would be no great stretch of pious fancy to suggest that the voice of the seeress still spoke from her ashes, and the next step, that she was still living, a tiny atomy, in an urn or a bottle, might follow readily enough. But on the face of the actual testimony there is little reason to assign a greater age to the more rational story. Petronius lived in the reign of Nero, Pausanias in the second century, though his source, Hyperochus, is thought to belong to the first century B. C. The other sources are later; the author of the *Cohortatio* is hardly to be placed before 250, and Ampelius, who has been dated all the way from Trajan to Diocletian, may perhaps be assigned to the third century. But Ampelius' eighth chapter, with its collection of wonders, may have been drawn from an earlier source, perhaps Alexandrian, of the second century before Christ.⁴

It is somewhat easier to understand the story of the Sibyl in the bottle with the help of a conjecture which I put forward with proper caution, namely, that here another folklore motif is involved—the theme of The Captive Demon, or the Bottle Imp, as one may say, remembering R. L. Stevenson's story of that name. The idea that a powerful spirit, a devil or a jinni, may be confined in a small vessel such as a bottle, or in a sack, appears in various popular tales,⁵ and is most familiar to us in the tale of the *Fisherman and the Jinni* in *The Thousand and One Nights* (Night 3).

For the purpose in hand we may disregard the incidents of these stories—such as the demon rewarding or threatening his liberator, the demon tricked into re-entering his prison, suffering a hammering or beating while shut up in a sack, and so on. The only point of importance is the popular and rather widespread belief that uncanny powers can be imprisoned and kept indefinitely in a small space. If this belief was current in the ancient world, there is

⁴ Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, Teil 3, p. 78, discusses the date of Ampelius, and refers, for the source of the wonder stories, to H. von Rohden, *De mundi miraculis* (p. 28), a work not accessible to me. For the date of the *Cohortatio*, see Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, II, 2, p. 1285, n. 8.

⁵ A. Aarne, *The Types of the Folk-Tale* (tr. by Stith Thompson, No. 330B, 331). Kaarle Krohn's study *Der gefangene Unhold* (Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen VII, 129) deals with stories that differ too widely in detail from the "bottle demon" type to be useful for comparison.

nothing strange in the upgrowth of a story, localized now here, now there, that in her old age the Sibyl, a mighty spirit of divination, was kept in a small receptacle housed in some much frequented shrine. The existence of such a folk-story would account for the strange description in Pseudo-Justin of the Sibyl's last resting-place as a bronze flask. There seems to be no reason why popular rumor should change an ordinary funerary urn into a bottle, except as a result of the interplay of a story that somebody had shut the Sibyl up in a bottle while still living, perhaps to control and exploit her soothsaying for his own purposes. The round iron cage of Ampelius' narrative can have nothing to do with burial, and the words *in qua conclusa Sibylla dicitur* are more naturally used of imprisonment than interment.

Because of our familiarity with the tale of the Fisherman and the Jinni we are likely to think of the motif of the demon in the bottle as oriental rather than classical; but there are similar notions to be found in Greek myths. The confinement of the winds in a sack (*Od. x. 19 ff.*) is a related idea, and so is that of Pandora's pithos (*Hes. Op. 90-95*) in which Zeus had shut up plagues (*κακά*) and diseases.⁶ There is also the famous Jena lekythos with its representation of Hermes evoking winged souls or *κῆρες* from a pithos sunk in the earth.⁷

There are some other texts belonging to a late period, but earlier than the formation of the *Thousand and One Nights*, which illustrate the beliefs about bottle demons. One of these is found in the *Testament of Solomon*, which is placed by its most recent editor, C. C. McCown, in the third century.⁸ The passages in question appear to belong to the older strata of the work. In chapter 16, 7, Solomon shuts the sea demon Kynopegos (?) up in a *phiale* which he closes and seals with the seal given him by God, and then has the vessel placed in the temple. Another story (chapter 22-23)

⁶ The demonic character of plagues and diseases in early literature is clear enough whether we identify them with *κῆρες* or not, as did Proclus (on *Hes. Op. 102*), and as Miss Harrison interpreted them (*Prolegomena*, p. 169 f.).

⁷ The lekythos was first published by P. Schadow, *Eine attische Grablekythos* (Jena diss. 1897); a better illustration in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Text III, 29, Abb. 12. There is a cut (fig. 7) in Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 43.

⁸ *The Testament of Solomon*, edited by C. C. McCown, Leipzig, 1922. University of Chicago Dissertation.

is of interest as a development of the old idea of the captive wind. The king of Arabia implores the aid of Solomon against a demon in the form of a blasting wind, blowing from dawn to the third hour, and destroying man and beast. Solomon sends his servant to Arabia, directing him to take with him the seal ring and a wine-skin, and to hold out the sack, with the ring before its mouth, and catch the demon in it. The messenger carries out his orders, catches the demon in the sack, ties it fast and takes it back to his master. On the next day, when Solomon goes out to inspect the work upon his temple, the demon in the sack stands up and does obeisance to the king. When questioned the demon tells his name, Ephippas, and at Solomon's command lifts and sets in its place the mighty corner-stone, which the builders could not move.

Along with the *Testament* proper McCown publishes for the first time, from a manuscript of the Greek monastery in Jerusalem, a work called *Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ σοφωτάτου τοῦ βασιλέως Σολομῶντος*. Part of the manuscript was written in 1719; the part containing the *Narrative* may be somewhat older. It is in modern Greek. The story is based upon the nucleus of the *Testament* narrative, that is to say, Solomon's dealing with the demons, but without the details which give the *Testament* its name, and without the magical and demonological minutiae which form a substantial part of the *Testament*. Besides giving the incident about the capture of Ephippas with unimportant differences from the *Testament*, it introduces a story that is not found in the *Testament* at all. I translate the pertinent paragraphs of it.

X. 2. "After the completion of the temple of God, King Solomon gathered together all the demons and unclean spirits, and caused to stand before him an innumerable multitude of demons; and he gave command that skilled artificers who worked in copper should come, and he ordered them to make copper vessels. And then he took and made large casks like jars and the King commanded all the demons in the name of God, and they entered into those vessels of copper. And then the King himself took and shut them up, and sealed the vessels with the seal of God. And the seals were of silver and the demons were within; and they dared no more go forth."

XI. 3-4. "Then also came King Nabuchodonosor from Babylon, and he took Jerusalem and sacked it; and then he burned the roof of the temple built by Solomon, who had roofed it over entirely

with pure gold; and as it burned the gold ran like a great river. . . . And the Chaldeans, who plundered Jerusalem, in their plundering found those copper vessels in which King Solomon had shut up the demons and sealed them with the seal that God sent him from heaven by the archangel Michael. And when the Chaldeans saw the golden seals⁹ and those copper vessels, which were buried in the earth, and looked like wells sealed up, the Chaldeans believed that they were a hidden treasure, and they went and unsealed the golden seals from them; and the demons fled from there and went again to their former accursed dwellings and plagued men again."

Since this story is written in modern Greek and appears only in a late manuscript, one might be disposed to date it in the later Middle Ages. But there is satisfactory evidence that it is much older. A *Disputatio cum Herbano Judaeo*, which Krumbacher assigns to the time of Justinian,¹⁰ is attributed to Gregentius, Bishop of Taphar in Himyaritic Arabia. When Herban asserts that Solomon controlled all demons, the Bishop replies: *Σολομῶν ἐταπείνωσε δαίμονας; οὐκ οἶδας τί διαγορεύεις. πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν ἡσφάλισατο τοὺτους ἐν τοῖς ἀγγέλους, καὶ σφραγίσας κατέχωσεν.*¹¹ The use of the article with *ἀγγέλους* marks the detail as well known, and the sentence evidently summarizes the story told in the modern Greek manuscript. Another summary of the same story is found in a life of Saint Philip, priest and exorcist of Agyrium (Agira, formerly San Filippo d'Argiro) in Sicily, written by the monk Eusebius. This life is found in two twelfth-century manuscripts (Vat. 866, Bodl. Auct. 5. 12); it does not mention the Saracen conquest of Sicily, and the writer, though he knew only the Greek rite, is loyal to the Pope of Rome. This would seem to point to some period not later than the eighth century and quite possibly earlier. Philip is said to have lived in the time of Arcadius.¹²

This Philip, a native of Thrace, goes to Rome, and the Pope,

⁹ They were of silver in Chapter X.

¹⁰ *Gesch. der byzant. Litt.*,² p. 59.

¹¹ Migne, *P. G.* 86, 1, p. 644 A. A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935) p. 142, dates the dialogue between A. D. 510 and 520.

¹² So far as I know, the life of Philip is printed only in *Acta Sanctorum Maii*. III, pp. 1*-6* (at the end of the volume). The mistake about the Roman rite, which indicates that Eusebius knew only the Greek, is noted by Henschen, p. 27 D of the volume (regular numbering).

recognizing the holy calling of the youth, ordains him priest, gives him a sacred volume, and sends him to Agyrium in Sicily,

ἐν ᾧ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων τοπικὴ μετάβασις γέγονεν, ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῆς πόλεως, ἐπεισελθόντος τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ καταρραξάντων τὰς πύλας τοῦ ναοῦ, εἵροσαν αὐτοὺς ἐν σκεύεσιν χαλκοῖς ἀποκεκλεισμένους· ὑπολαβόντες δὲ ὅτι χρήματά εἰσιν, ἤνοιξαν αὐτοὺς, καὶ παραντίκα ἐξέδρασαν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείσε καὶ κατοικοῦσιν ἐν στρογλαῖς (sic) πετρῶν. . . .¹³

Those who are versed in Jewish folk-lore may be able to trace the story of Solomon's imprisoning demons in jars still further. I have noted only a passage in the Babylonian Talmud¹⁴ where Solomon is said to have used demons for his building; nothing is said about their confinement in jars.

The belief that evil spirits can be imprisoned by charms in a small space is expressed in a magical practice which is interestingly described in Professor J. A. Montgomery's *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*.¹⁵ These texts, and many others of similar character in other collections, were written on the inside of small earthenware bowls. The bowls from Nippur were actually found upside down, as if to confine something under them, and one of the texts (No. 4) begins: "Covers to hold in sacred (accursed) angels and evil spirits."¹⁶ The purpose was to protect from demonic affliction certain persons who are named in the charms, and their houses and property. Even before the definite evidence furnished by the Nippur excavation, Professor H. Hyvernat had proposed such an interpretation.¹⁷ The Nippur bowls are not later than 600 A.D.

¹³ Vita c. 8, p. 2* C. Although Du Cange recognizes *στρογλαί* = *fissurae*, the word is probably nothing but *τρώγλη* with a spurious *σ* derived, partly by ditto-graphy, partly by ambiguous pronunciation, from its frequent association with the article in such phrases as *εἰς τὰς τρώγλας*, *ἐν ταῖς τρώγλαις*. *τρώγλη* is known in Modern Greek, but not *στρογλή*. This comment applies also to the exorcism published by Dom A. Strittmatter in *Orientalia Christiania* XXVI, 2, p. 129, where demons are described as hidden *ἐν ταῖς στρογλαῖς τῶν πετρῶν*.

¹⁴ Tractate Gittin, VII, 1, fol. 68a (Vol. VI, p. 413 in L. Goldschmidt's translation).

¹⁵ University of Pennsylvania Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. III (Philadelphia, 1913).

¹⁶ Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁷ *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* II (1885), 113 ff., especially 137-8.

We have now seen that stories of demons or evil spirits in jars, though particularly frequent in Judæo-Christian tradition, are not foreign to Greek thought, and may be traced back to Homer and Hesiod. There is no proof of the existence of a story that the Sibyl was "bottled" in the manner of Solomon's demons or jinns; but the hypothesis that such a story may once have been current seems at least to explain the ampulla of Petronius, the flask of Pseudo-Justin, and the cage in Ampelius.

A POLITICAL TREATISE OF THE EARLY FRENCH RENAISSANCE

THE *Régime d'un Prince* OF BISHOP JEAN DE MARRE—1509

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The *institutio principis* was one of the principal forms of political writing in the Middle Ages. It was especially well developed in France. Successive generations of ecclesiastical moralists, from the days of Hincmar of Rheims and Smaragdus to those of Aquinas and Aegidius Romanus, turned their attention to the political and ethical education of the king, both for its own sake, that good doctrine might prevail in high places, and as a vehicle for the expression of the highest ideal of public conduct. With the Hundred Years War, the *institutio principis*, like other kinds of didactic political writing, progressively diminished in influence. Ideal considerations were overcast by the urgent practical necessities of the great conflict. After the victory of the Valois, however, as the pacification of France proceeded, men had again the will and the leisure to assess their political convictions, and to attempt, in the sphere of political thought, a like reconstruction to that which Louis XI, the Beaujeu and Louis XII were achieving in the state's material constitution. The means to which they most frequently turned was the *institutio principis*.¹

¹The content of such Carolingian treatises as Smaragdus' *Via regia*, Hincmar's *De regis persona*, or the *De Institutione regia* of Jonas of Orleans is of course not comparable to that of the *De regimine principum* of Aquinas or Aegidius. Yet the persistence of the form, simply as a form, is worth noting. The internal change was only gradual. The fact that the form, sometimes in close imitation of medieval models, should have been widely used in the Renaissance, is also significant. How far the use of a form is an influence upon the spirit, one obviously cannot say. But the fact that one of the distinctive didactic vehicles of the entire Middle Ages should have served a number of incontestable Humanists, in the Renaissance, is apposite when we are told that the thinkers of that period, "éblouis par les grâces récemment ressuscitées de l'antiquité," altogether turned their backs upon the Middle Ages, and that "le christianisme a laissé en eux quelques traces, mais si légères qu'elles ne semblent que des habitudes de geste

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It is quite possible that the resurrection of the Institution of the Prince was the work of no less a person than Louis XI. Shortly before that king's death, he either wrote, or caused to be written, a little treatise, *Le Rosier des Guerres*, intended for the instruction of his youthful heir in the ways of wise government.³ One is struck,

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Quar. ix. .d.

Que le roy en ceste
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in this work, by a divided purpose, to be found also in more than one of its successors. The author, whether Louis or his almoner, wrote, so to speak, with one eye upon heaven, but with the other, and both his hands, on the most mundane political reality. Written, not improbably, in emulation of the medieval archetype, the *Rosier* shows still the imprint of the ecclesiastical morality. But one is impressed far more with the directness with which it displays to the young prince the precepts of practical statecraft, outlining especially the best means for the control and employment of armed force. The *Rosier des Guerres* is indeed characteristic of its epoch, as of the king who inspired it. The medieval religious ideal had still some effective force, but it was overshadowed by the need to consolidate and explain a political system and a political morality quite different from that of Saint Louis and Saint Thomas. For some time this duality of purpose in fact continued to be the central quality of French political thought. Nowhere is it better illustrated than in a *Régime d'un Prince* of the year 1509.

The author, Jean de Marre, was not so famous as those whom we have just mentioned. Nor was he a humanist. Licentiate in both laws, and a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Simorre, near Auch, he seems to have had a normal churchman's education. For a time, he was vicar general for Aquitaine, charged with the reformation of monasteries. He later served the great prince, Alain d'Albret, apparently as his confessor. In 1496 he was promoted Bishop of Condom. There, he was much occupied with the building and repair of churches. His literary efforts, other than the *Régime d'un Prince*, appear to have been devoted to theology. Save for an obscure connection with Guillaume Briçonnet, there is no evidence in the account of his life that Italian or humanist influences had much effect upon him. In 1509, he was already of advanced years.⁴ A monk, a client of one of the last great particularist princes of the Midi, and himself a Gascon, one would not be surprised had Jean de Marre shown himself the protagonist at once of orthodox morality and of feudal provincialism. Licentiate in both laws, he might well have been a conservative defender of custom and vested right. On the contrary, while no Macchiavelli, he was a royalist and a man unafraid of innovation.

The *Régime d'un Prince* is divided into three parts, each quite

⁴ *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, p. 532.

different from the others: an introductory section, moralistic in character, in the course of which the writer has occasion to consider the nature of law, and the king's relationship to it; a discussion of wise policy, both internal and foreign, with special reference to the immediate situation of France; and an extended examination of the reasons for, the possibility of realizing, and the best means of organizing a crusade against the Turk. The treatise is addressed, and seems to have been presented to Louis XII.⁵

The first section opens conventionally enough, in the odor of sanctity. The prime necessity for all men, says the author, but especially for those who hold secular or ecclesiastical office, is that they be graced with perfect love and dilection. For we live by divine grace only, and our utmost hope is the attainment of celestial glory. But, to perfect himself, man must set his mind in order. When his reason compells him directly, and his will commands him to that which is just and good, and when his senses are prompt to obey reason and will, then can it be said that a man's thought is well ordered.⁶ To further this process, De Marre appeals both to the "speculative understanding," whose aim is the knowledge of truth, and to "practical understanding," whose end is the achievement of those virtuous works which should follow from such knowledge. For in them lies the way of goodness. Indeed, De Marre holds that goodness is far superior to mere intelligence, expressing himself almost in the words "Be good, dear child, and let who will be clever."⁷

⁵ *Le Régime d'un Prince* is to be found in a vellum manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 1219. The manuscript itself is a very beautiful one, and is illustrated with a frontispiece showing the bishop making a personal presentation of his book to the king. The binding is old, very probably even of the sixteenth century, and is stamped with the royal arms. The text appears both in French and Latin. There is no substantial difference in meaning between the two. I have chosen to quote from the French text, which is somewhat fuller, and is also first in order in the manuscript. The manuscript is internally dated as of 1509. On folio 34 verso the author speaks of the fall of Constantinople as "il y a cinquante et six ans."

⁶ De Marre, J., *Régime d'un prince*, folios 4 ff. folio 8 verso. "Quant doncques la raison de l'homme conseille directement et que la voulente commande a faire ce qui est juste et decent. et que la sensualite est prompte a obeir a raison et a voulente directe adoncques est dicte la pensee de l'homme bien instituee. . . . Car la fin de speculation est scavoir la verite et la fin de la pratique est le bon euvre qui en ensuyt."

⁷ Ibid. folio 9. "Car cest chose plus seure et plus salutaire de estre bon que de estre philosophe."

At this point we come upon a revised concept. De Marre continues to use the language of the Schoolmen, but he gives a new meaning to the older vocabulary. The king, he says, should in his quest of goodness, have great regard to the responsibilities of his office, and bear in mind the solemn meaning of his coronation and his coronation oath. For he is the embodiment of law in his realm, and law is indeed naught else but reasonable ordonnance for the conservation of the public good, ordained and established by him who has the charge and authority of the whole community. For this reason, the king is, or should be, the father of his country, and should love those over whom he has dominion, and should defend and protect them to the fullest of his power. For he is like the head of the natural body, which gives force and direction to the limbs.⁸ The formula *princeps est animata lex* was an old one. When Aegidius Romanus used it, at the end of the thirteenth century, his meaning was that the king is bound by law, a law which he himself does not establish. His was, in effect, an assertion of the sovereignty of law, and of the king's responsibility to it.⁹ In the mid-fifteenth century the phrase appeared again in a dialogue by Alain Chartier. Here its meaning had altered. Chartier explained that the king may be called animated law because only in the hands of an equitable ruler has the law any force; an evil king destroys it.¹⁰ To Chartier this is merely a statement of fact. He

⁸ Ibid. folio 10 verso and 11. "En oultre il doit estre memoratif et recordz des parolles qui luy sont dittes et dirigez quant il est oing de la sainte huyle a reins. Car il est la loy ayant ame au royaume. . . . Et nest loy aultre chose si non ordonnance raysonnable pour la conservacion du bien commun ordonnee et establee de par celui qui a la charge et auctorite de toute la communitie. Et pour ce est le roy ou doit estre pere de son pays. et doit aymer ceulx dont il a le regime et le gouvernement et les doit deffendre et garder de tout son povoir. car il est comme le chief du corps naturel qui influe et donne vertu et vigueur aux membres."

⁹ Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum*, Rome 1482, lib. I, pt. 2, chapter 12. "Rex, qui est leges ferre, debet esse quaedam regula in agendis . . . princeps vero est quaedam animata lex." Aegidius' meaning is to be understood in the light of such statements as "Jura regni debet maxime custodire et observare," (lib. III, pt. 2, ch. 9) and "Imo magnam efficaciam habent ex diurnitate et assuefactione leges. Decet ergo reges et principes observare bonas constitutiones principatus et regni et non innovare leges . . ." (lib. III, pt. 2, ch. 31).

¹⁰ Chartier, Alain, *Dialogus familiaris Amici et Sodalis*, in *Oeuvres*, (ed. Du Chesne, A.) Paris 1617, p. 464. "Princeps ipse animata lex est, cujus aequitas

regretted that the medieval ideal of a self-sustaining and righteous law is not a practical reality, but he was forced by the lawlessness of his own times to conclude that law has of itself small vitality.

From De Marre's use of the term, both Aegidius' sense of legal restriction upon the king, and Chartier's disillusioned pessimism have dropped away. The bishop does not, in truth, say "the will of the king is law," but his position is perilously near absolutism. The king is of course bound to exercise his power in accordance with the best interests of the governed, but he is bound by nothing external to himself. His conscience, the nature of his office, and his regard for those he rules, are the sole restrictions upon him. The alteration, through two centuries, of the connotation of one set of words is a small thing, and to insist upon it is perhaps over-academic. Yet, could there be better illustration of the manner in which the theoretical precepts of the Schoolmen, with little apparent change of phrase, came gradually to provide a sound philosophic basis for the exaltation of the royal will? The process was not completed until a generation after De Marre's death. He himself never explicitly asserted the king's power to be absolute. He undoubtedly believed that, in insisting upon the excellent purposes which the king should always pursue, he had provided an adequate guarantee against the tyrannous abuse of power. With St. Isidore of Seville, he held that justice is *rectitudo voluntatis*, "une voulenté justement et directement ordonnee."¹¹ But the will is the will of the king.

Jean de Marre might, from what we have so far seen of his thought, appear an abstract ideologue. In the second part of his treatise, however, he shows himself not without a certain realistic hardness which considerably qualifies the effect of his earlier remarks. Rather abruptly he turns from the speculative understanding to the practical. Mindful of the ills of the preceding century, De Marre holds it to be axiomatic that the great essential in any community is good public order. Such order cannot be maintained if the king be not assured of the prompt obedience of

leges vivificat, ac eadem mortificat regentis iniquitas. Salubre populus iustae lege est subesse; sed salubrius bono rege regni." The same idea appears in his *Consolation des trois vertus*; *Oeuvres*, p. 318. "Car la loy escripte est de soy morte & sans vigour. Mais le prince est la loy vive, l'ame & l'esperit des loix, qui leur donne povoir & vertu, & par son sens & adressement les vivifie."

¹¹ De Marre, op. cit., fol. 12 verso.

his servants.¹² Once this is assured, he can consider other problems of policy. Yet both in his treatment of conquered territories, and in domestic affairs, the king should constantly bear in mind the preservation of order.

In discussing the former problem, De Marre pays particular attention to the duchy of Milan. Lombardy clearly belongs by right to Louis XII; and its conquest is altogether justifiable. In governing it, however, the king should remember that, because their habits and way of life differ from those of the French, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to maintain a permanent peace between the Milanese and their conquerors.¹³ To prevent rebellion, the French must obviously pay first attention to their military dispositions. But the maintenance of a large armed force throughout the duchy would be impossibly expensive,—an expense to which the revenues of Milan itself would clearly not be sufficient. It would therefore appear prudent for the king to maintain only a small garrison of highly trained soldiers in the citadel of Milan, and to attempt by other means to make the Lombards amenable to his rule. Above all, he should avoid giving offense to the inhabitants of the duchy. For this reason their local rights and liberties should be preserved to them, and they might well be allowed to elect a procurator to represent them before their rulers. They should also be permitted some advantage from their own income. De Marre understands that the annual revenues of the duchy amount to some eight hundred thousand ducats. He feels that the Milanese might be kept content if they were permitted the enjoyment of one hundred fifty thousand, the remaining six hundred

¹² Ibid. folio 18 verso. "Et pour ce que je voy quil a de present grande puissance et grande richesse luy amenie je ce cy a propos a cause que jay dit devant que il soit promptement et loyaulment obey et servy de ses subjectz. Car pour certain la grande abundance et copiosite de biens et de richesse engendre animosite orgueil et presumption lesquelz esmeuvent et engendrent guerres et batailles. leuelles engendrent et causent povrete et destruction de gens et de pays. O quelz et quantz maux et infortunes en sont advenuez au royaume par le space de trente ans plus quon ne scait pas."

¹³ Ibid. folio 20. "Quant au regard de la duche de milan pour ce quil est tout cler et manifeste sans aucun doubte quelle luy appartient selon droit et raison par quoy il est tenu de la deffendre et garder. Toutesfoys pour ce que la facon et maniere de vivre des francoys est contraire et discordant a celle des lombardz par quoy il est difficile quil y ayt paix permanente entre eulx voyre a parler royalement quasi impossible."

fifty thousand ducats to accrue to France. The good shepherd, says our moralist, will only shear his beasts, not devour them.¹⁴

Milan may, likewise, be held in peace if the king keeps about him the sons of all its principal citizens. At best, he may make them his friends. If not, De Marre somewhat ominously suggests, there are other methods of dealing with them.¹⁵ At any rate, the holding of hostages would save the expense of soldiers.

As to the worth of conquered territories in general, De Marre is by no means convinced. Louis already possesses Milan and Genoa, and they are indeed valuable, both commercially and strategically. He should, therefore, hold them perpetually united to the crown. But De Marre urges him strongly against the temptation to further conquest. For, he says, is it not better to maintain in peace the country which he already rules, itself sufficiently large and productive, than to labor continually to acquire still other lands, exposing himself constantly to peril without repose?¹⁶ The writer further reminds the king that fortune is not always favorable.

In considering internal matters, De Marre recurs to his fundamental precept that public order is the great essential. In France, he is of the opinion that the continuance of feudal privilege is the greatest peril to that order. He therefore advocates the extinction of independent duchies. To those who maintain that the traditional organization of France has always been feudal, he answers that, if the princes were loyal, it would be very pleasant to have dukes with their trains of vassals, but apparently this is not to be hoped for. Therefore, all things well considered, it appears that the duchies of Burgundy, Normandy and Aquitaine, and the counties of Champagne, Toulouse, Poitou and Provence remain perpetually annexed and united to the crown. Above all, the duchy of Brittany should be so united, because for a long time the kingdom has suffered much on its account, especially in the times of Louis XI and his son, when that principality served many malcontents as

¹⁴ Ibid. folios 20 to 22. "...loffice du bon pasteur est de tondre seulement les bestes non pas de les engloutir ou devorer."

¹⁵ Ibid. folio 22 verso to 23. "Et au cas quilz abuseroient dicelle liberte laquelle chose dieu ne veuille pourtant on y pourvoyroit par autre moyen."

¹⁶ Ibid. folio 25. "...ne vous vault il pas mieulx garder en paix le pais et region dont vous jouissez de present qui est grand et plantureux. que labourer continuellement pour avoir et acquerir autre pays et vous exposer en peril et danger sans avoir jamais repos."

their last refuge.¹⁷ It is of course true, says De Marre, that the younger sons of the king must be provided for, but it would be far better to give them, instead of great apanages, little plots of land or a moderate money settlement. If, indeed, they be granted land, it should always be such as is situated well within the body of the realm, with an annual revenue sufficient for their support. In order that this policy be put into execution, he feels that it would be wise to assemble what he is pleased to term the Estates: the prelates, the princes and the municipal governors,¹⁸ in order that "this law and constitution, by their consent and for the maintenance and conservation of the public good, be perpetually established, held and confirmed."¹⁹

The law whose perpetual institution De Marre here advocates is of course that subsequently so widely known as "The Fundamental Law of the French Nation," prohibiting alienations of the royal domain. In 1509 the central principle was already well over a hundred years old. In an ordonnance of 1402, Charles VI had

¹⁷ Ibid. folio 19 and 19 verso. "Toutefoys il seroit bien decent bien honneste et utile non obstant quil fust aucunement perrilleux et ce quon ne void guere sy les princes estoyent loyaulx et obediens a leurs superieur davoit princes duz avec grandz et puissans vassaulx. Pourtant toutes choses bien regardees et considerees et pour eslire la plus seure voye il mest advis sauf le conseil et lopinion plus saine quil seroit plus oportun et plus seur pour le royaume que toutes ces pieces. cestassavoir la duche de bourgongne de normandie daquitaine la conte de champaigne de thoulouse et poictou de provence demourassent tousjours annexe et unies a la couronne pour ce quelles sont prochaines et voisines du royaume et es termes et lieux adjacens diceluy. Et par especial aussy la duche de bretagne pour ce que depuys peu de temps le royaume en a eu moult a souffrir et principalement du temps du roy loys et de son filz. Car icelle duche de bretagne luy a este et aux aultres malcontens dernier et extreme refuge." It is an index of the character of Louis XII that, in an address to him, De Marre could speak so bluntly of the malcontents who, in the times of Louis XI and his son, found refuge in Brittany. Chief of these was Louis of Orleans.

¹⁸ While there was no fixed rule as to the composition of the Estates General, what De Marre here describes is really an Assembly of Notables.

¹⁹ De Marre, op. cit., folio 23 and 23 verso. "...laquelle chose seroit plus seure et facile pour entretenir la paix et union du royaume et par ceste voye le roy seroyt plus obey. . . . Et fauldroit pour cela faire et mettre a execucion congreger et assembler tous les estatx. cestassavoir les prelatz les princes et les gouverneurs de villes et de citez affin que perpetuellement ceste loy et constitution par leur consentement et pour lentretienement et conservacion du bien public fust establie tenue et confermee. . . ."

in fact declared it to be perpetual and irrevocable.²⁰ It is interesting, if at the same time a little puzzling, that De Marre should propose the acceptance of that principle as if the idea were altogether a new one. Nowhere does he give any indication that he was acquainted with its history. However, we are here concerned not with the development of this part of French law, but with the political mentality of De Marre. In this connection, it is significant that the writer does not appeal to legal precedent as justification for what, as he sees it, amounts almost to the abolition of feudalism in France. Instead, he alleges an altogether practical reason. The princes are not to be trusted and, for the well-being of the state, they must no longer be allowed to endanger the public peace. In effect, De Marre treats what was at least theoretically an established principle as if it were an innovation. And in doing so, he takes the position of urging a fundamental alteration of the ancient constitution, if such alteration be desirable for the preservation of good order. There is no need to point out how distant this attitude is from that of the medieval philosophers and legists.

De Marre now turns to two further considerations which he regards as next in importance: the reformation of the church and of the *parlements*. As to the church, he holds the chief cause of its ills to be the promotion of unworthy persons to great benefices. This, in turn, he believes in large measure due to the venality of those "princes and other curialists who seek to enrich themselves from the goods and patrimony of the crucifix and of the church, rather than to succor the poor of Jesus Christ." Remedy is in the hands of the king. The actual election of the prelates should, the writer feels, be left to the chapters, but the sovereign has both

²⁰ *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, Vol. VIII, p. 486. "Et afin que cestes noz Ordonnance & révocation faites par tele & si grant délibération, comme dessus est déclairié, lesquelles Nous voulons & décernons valoir & avoir force & vigueur de Loy perpétuelle, soient plus fermement tenues, Nous avons juré & jurons aux Saintes Euvangiles de Dieu par Nous touchiées, les tenir & garder, & non faire en encontre; . . ." Although it is in this ordonnance that the inalienability of the domain is first declared perpetual and irrevocable, it refers for precedent to the coronation oath of Charles V. That oath, while guaranteeing not to diminish the rights and honors of the crown, makes no specific reference to the domain. (For text, cf. Godefroy, T., *Cérémonial françois*, Paris 1609, p. 76.) Prior to 1402, there had been a number of ordonnances promulgated *revoking* alienations of the domain: in 1318, 1357, 1358 and 1360. (Cf. *Ordonnances* I, 665; III, 162, 225 and 442.)

the right and the responsibility of searching out those men best qualified for election, and of commending them to the chapters when vacancies occur. Especially should the king not give ear to the importunate requests of those who look only to their own interest.²¹ As he has already envisaged the destruction of feudal independence, so here De Marre advocates the suppression of any right of provision to benefices other than that of the king himself.²²

Those abuses which mar the courts of law De Marre believes to arise from the too great security in office of their members. He therefore urgently requests that the king appoint commissioners to make an inquisition into the conduct of the judges and advocates. Of their corruption De Marre himself had little doubt.²³ Should the king find his fears to be justified, let him then take such steps against the guilty as "may furnish an example to others." The bishop furthermore insists that, against such remedial action, the claim should not avail that the offices of the crown are irrevocable. For, he says, there are such crimes as make it a crime not to exact vengeance for them.²⁴

Thus yet again De Marre places his reliance upon the discre-

²¹ De Marre, op. cit., folio 30. "Et quant le temps de vacacion sera venu et quil en sera averty doibt rescrire en la faveur daucun diceulx a tout le chapitre pour y pourvoir de celui quil congnoistra le plus idoyne et utile . . . ne doibt pas iceluy roy acquiescer ne consentir aux importunes et inutiles requestes des princes et des autres curialistes qui desirent et appetent plus soy enrichir des biens et patrimoine du cruefix et de leglise quilz ne sont seurvenir et secourir aux povres de Jesus Crist."

²² Ibid. folio 31. "Et toutesfoys le roy nostredict seigneur fait toutes ces choses siennes et sen attribue la puissance totale juxte ce proverbe. Nous faisons toutes ces choses nôtres es quelles nous impartissons et demonstons a voir auctorite."

²³ Ibid. folio 33 verso. "Comment est il possible que les presidens les conseil-lers de parlement et les autres maistres officiers et gardes de justice commis et establis par tout le royaume puissent si facilement et en si petit de temps avec les gaiges ordinaires du roy. soy enrichir et acquerir si grandz biens."

²⁴ Ibid. folio 34. "... je prie et requier pour le profict et utilite du bien public quil plaise a nostre dict seigneur ce voyage icy faict et acomply dy deputer et commettre commissaires pour soy enquerir des choses precedentes et la verite trouvee et prouvee manifestement dy pourvoir en telle sorte et facon que cela soit cause de donner exemple aux autres voir suple en civilement parlant. Et a ce ne peult obvier ny repugner ce que aucuns porroient alleguer et dire que les offices des roys sont irrevocables. Pour ce quil ya aucunes coupes es quelles cest coupe de relacher la vengeance."

tionary will of the king, and twice reveals his conviction that the public interest justifies action, even if it be contrary to the customary interpretation of vested right. It is true that he nowhere specifically formulates this proposition, but the entire second section of his treatise is instinct with it.

The last part of the *Régime d'un Prince*, while of considerable interest as revealing the strength of at least one Frenchman's enthusiasm for common European action against the Turk, it is not very closely related to what goes before it. It is worth noting that De Marre does not advocate a crusade in the spirit of Peter the Hermit. The religious aspect of war against the Turk does indeed appeal to him, but he is equally concerned with the material danger which that conquering people presents to Europe. He even expresses himself as fearful for the security of France.²⁵ His detailed suggestions for the organization of an expedition against Constantinople however add little to our understanding of his political principles.

But how, indeed, are those principles to be understood? How is the disparity between De Marre's professed ethics and his apparent pragmatic hardness to be explained? Some might hold that the opening sentiments of his treatise are a sham; that the writer felt himself bound, as an ecclesiastic, to pay lip service to the traditional ethics of Christian religion. Or it might be represented that he was lacking in perception, and that his inconsistencies were not apparent to him. It would require more knowledge of the man than we possess to reach a satisfactory conclusion on either point. Yet, as we have already indicated, this is not the only work of its period in which such conflicting ideas are to be found. The *Régime d'un Prince* is symptomatic of an inner discord present in a large part of French political writing for several generations. Since the early fifteenth century, French thinkers had sought a principle which might resolve, to their minds and consciences, the complexities of the changed world in which they lived. For the Hundred Years War and the anarchy which attended it had undermined the central doctrines alike of medieval morality and of medieval law. Nevertheless, the destruction of peace and of legal orderliness did

²⁵ Ibid. folio 39. "... icelluy turc et ennemys de nostre foy pensent nuyt et jour comme il pourront parvenir a la division et destruction diceluy royaulme plus que de nul autre."

not obliterate all respect for law, or bring all Frenchmen to the cynicism of certain of their Italian contemporaries. Most writers, during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, whether of the traditional religious education or disciples of the new Humanism, were convinced of the existence of an ethical ideal, and of the need for its formulation in an ethical code. On the other hand, all whose perceptions were not befogged by sheer abstraction, could not but perceive the equally urgent need for reform and reorganization in state and church. We can not doubt, in view of the widespread regard for Louis XII, that most Frenchmen during his reign approved in general the work of the monarchy in bringing about the security and prosperity of that period.²⁶ Moreover, many honest men were willing to agree that stern and even arbitrary action, which might at times go counter to ordinary law and custom, and sometimes verge on tyranny, might be warrantable, in the general interest.²⁷

The problem which confronted political thinkers in the Renaissance was to explain and justify that which perforce they approved in the material world, without doing extreme violence to their philosophic convictions and their respect for law. Such a writer as Jean de Marre gives simultaneous expression to his attachment to the ancient ethics, and to his practical sense of affairs. And it is not impossible that he believed himself to have found a reconciliation between them.

It is not by placing exclusive emphasis upon either element in early Renaissance thought that we may reach an understanding of the political outlook of that epoch. Neither Jean de Marre nor his contemporaries were able, ad hoc, to devise a new vocabulary to

²⁶ Our evidence as to the reverence in which Frenchmen held the monarchy at this period includes even the testimony of Macchiavelli: "La corona e li Regi di Francia sono oggi più ricchi e più potenti che mai." "Sono i popoli di Francia umili e ubbedientissimi, ed hanno in gran venerazione il loro Re." *Ritratti delle cose della Francia*, in *Opere*, London 1768, vol. III, pp. 217 and 230.

²⁷ The difficulty of distinguishing sharply between even a good king and a tyrant is formulated by a contemporary of Louis XI, in the following words: "Ne ung bon roy aussi na pas toutes les condicions du bon roy, car il seroit comme demy dieu, ne n'est si bon roy qui ne ait aulcune condicion du tyran." Des Gros, Pierre, *Le Jardin des Nobles*, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 193; fol. 198 verso, col. 2. Des Gros goes on to point out that the best of kings may be forced to employ "explorateurs et espions" in the good discharge of his office, although the use of spies is usually ascribed only to tyrants.

express new concepts. Yet it is as much an error to suppose that in using the words of the Middle Ages, they continued to think like Thomas Aquinas, as to imagine that in recognizing and accepting the circumstances of their own day, they were in fact the spiritual kin of Macchiavelli. The keystone of De Marre's political philosophy is his confidence in the monarch. In a good king, a king *père du peuple*, the verities of the speculative understanding might be reconciled with the importunities of practical action. It is perhaps not beside the point that Louis XII was the only modern king of France called, and by popular tradition believed to have been *père du peuple*. Whatever occasioned De Marre's confidence, we should not dismiss it lightly, because underlying the matured doctrines of French absolutism—giving life to theories of sovereignty, and perhaps even explaining how moral men could subscribe to such an idea as *raison d'état*—was the assurance that the king could be trusted to act in the nation's interest; and that the nation was good.

THE TERTIA PHILOSOPHIA OF GUILLAUME DE CONCHES AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MORALIUM DOGMA PHILOSOPHORUM

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The *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was, if we are to judge from the number of its manuscripts and translations and the instances of its use in other works, one of the most influential of the many books of ethical instruction which flourished in the later Middle Ages.¹ But despite this popularity, or perhaps because of it, no

¹ Critical edition by John Holmberg, *Das Moraliu Dogma Philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches, Lateinisch, Altfranzösisch und Mittelniederfränkisch* (Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, no. 37, Upsala, 1929). At least sixty-seven manuscripts of the Latin original are extant, dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth century (see Holmberg, pp. 12-15; and J. R. Williams, 'The Authorship of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*,' *Speculum*, VI [1931], 392, n. 2). The Old French version survives in thirty-eight codices (Holmberg, pp. 39-40) and there are manuscripts of translations in Italian (ed. Roberto de Visiani, *Tratto di Virtù Morale* [Scelta di Curiosità Litterarie Inedite, vol. LXI, Bologna, 1865]; see also Adolfo Mussafia, in Rodolfo Renier, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Brunetto Latini*, *Monografia di Thor Sundby*, *Tradotta dall' Originale Danese con Appendici di Isidoro del Lungo e Adolfo Mussafia* [Florence, 1884], p. 282), Francconian (Holmberg, pp. 59-61, and 85 ff.) and Icelandic (Thor Sundby, *Brunetto Latinos Levnet og Skrifter* [Copenhagen, 1869], Appendix, p. cxxi, and n. 1). For the influence of the *Moralium Dogma* see in particular Holmberg, pp. 9-11, p. 11, n. 4, pp. 33 ff., and the notes on pp. 184-193; Thor Sundby, *Brunetto Latinos Levnet*, pp. 52-54 and 169-179; Sundby, *Albertani Brixienis Liber Consolationis et Consilii* (London: Chaucer Society, 1873), pp. 21 and 93-94; A. Schönbach, 'Die Quelle Wernhers von Elmendorf,' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Litteratur*, XXXIV (N. F., XXII, 1890), 55 ff.; J. Williams, in *Speculum*, VI, 393 and notes; O. Lottin, 'Les Ramifications des Vertues Cardinales avant S. Thomas d'Aquin,' *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, VI (1934), 88-94; G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II (München, 1935), 310 f.; and Martin Grabmann, *Handschriftliche Forschungen und Mittheilungen zum Schrifttum des Wilhelm von Conches und zu Bearbeitungen seiner naturwissenschaftlichen Werke* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., vol. X, 1935), pp. 13-18.

satisfactory information has come down to us as to its authorship. The manuscripts, Latin and vernacular, variously attribute the book to Guillaume de Conches, to Gauthier de Châtillon, to a Master Odo, to a Master Guido,² to Jean de Meun, to 'Valtirr af Sallibur,' to the fifteenth-century Jean de Courtecuisse.³ Since the work is essentially a collection of quotations drawn chiefly from Cicero and Seneca (with passages also from Macrobius, Boethius, Sallust, Horace, Terence, Lucan, and others), it is not surprising that several codices ascribe it to Seneca, others to Cicero himself.⁴ And the problem is further complicated by the addition in earlier modern times of several other candidates to the list, notably Hugh of St Victor, Hildebert of Lavardin, Bartholomaeus of Pisa, Bartholomaeus of Racanati, and Claude de Seyssel.⁵

More recent critical scholarship has, however, reduced the number of this large and heterogeneous company to two: Guillaume de Conches and Gauthier de Châtillon. The case for Guillaume was made most forcefully by Hauréau,⁶ who, among all his evidence, laid particular stress on the significance of the *proemium*, which (in some manuscripts) addresses the person to whom the work is dedicated as 'uir optime et liberalis Henrice.' For this excellent and gracious man is, according to Hauréau's argument, Henry of Anjou-

² Identified by H. O. Coxe (*Catalogus Codd. Mss. Coll. Oxon.*, II [1852], 31) with Guido Vicentino. Coxe gives no authority for this identification.

³ See especially Holmberg, pp. 5-6; Williams in *Speculum*, VI, 396-399; and Thor Sundby, *Brunetto Latinos Levnet*, p. 167. Apparently the earliest manuscript to make an attribution, *Erlangen* 272 (396), names Guillaume de Conches, but this is in the late thirteenth century.

⁴ Holmberg, p. 6, and nn. 5 and 6. Even St. Augustine is named as author in the British Museum manuscript, *Royal 8 C. iv* (xiv c.). Cf. Williams, p. 397.

⁵ See Beaugendre, *Venerabilis Hildeberti primo Cenomanensis Episcopi deinde Turonensis Archiepiscopi Opera tam Edita quam Inedita* (Paris, 1708), p. 959 (cf. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CLXXI, 1005 ff.); B. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (Paris, 1890), 100-106; and Holmberg, pp. 5 and 19.

⁶ *Notices et Extraits*, I, 99-109.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 106-108. Most of the manuscripts read merely 'uir optime et liberalis,' some others 'uir optime et liberalis R'; but the 'R' Hauréau explains as meaning *rex*, i.e. *rex Henrice* (I, 108). Cf. Holmberg, p. 7 and notes; and Williams, p. 401 and n. 5. The phrase appears to be an adaptation of the words 'uir optime Liberalis' at the opening of Seneca's *De Beneficiis*, where Liberalis is not an adjective but the name of Aebutius Liberalis of Lyons, to whom the work is addressed.

Plantagenet, whose tutor Guillaume de Conches is known to have been. If it failed to remove doubt from the minds of all the critics, this statement of the theory of Guillaume's authorship held the field unchallenged for well over forty years.⁸

But the entire problem was reopened in 1931 by John R. Williams, who, in an article in *Speculum*, questions the decisiveness of Hauvéau's facts and the argument based upon them. In particular he shows that the details of the *proemium* may be applied more precisely to Henry of France, brother of King Louis VII and Archbishop of Rheims, than to Henry Plantagenet.⁹ It is Henry of France whom the poet Gauthier de Châtillon appears to have served as clerk. And though Williams offers nothing beyond this attractive interpretation of the dedication in positive support of his claim for Gauthier's authorship, his examination of the internal evidence of the *Moralium Dogma* itself, discloses obstacles, previously unseen, in the way of the attribution to Guillaume de Conches which are troublesome to circumvent.¹⁰

The recent appearance in print of a hitherto unpublished section of the writings of Guillaume,¹¹ a fragment which forms part of what may conveniently be referred to as a *Tertia Philosophia* (though it falls chronologically between the *Prima* and the *Secunda Philo-*

⁸ It has been accepted by Clemens Baeumker (art. 'Wilhelm von Conches,' in Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, 2nd ed., XII [1901], 1601), Maurice de Wulf (*Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale* [Louvain, 1924], I, 145), Lynn Thorndike (*History of Magic and Experimental Science* [2nd ed., New York, 1929], II, 51), H. Flatten (*Die Philosophie des Wilhelm von Conches* [diss., Bonn, 1929], pp. 13, 14, 184 ff.), O. Lottin ('Les Débuts du Traité de la Prudence au Moyen Âge,' *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, IV [1932], p. 270; but see the review in the next note below), Carmelo Ottaviano (*Un Brano Inedito della 'Philosophia' di Guglielmo di Conches* [Collezione di Testi Filosofici Inediti e Rari, no. I, Naples, 1935], p. 8); and, with increasing doubt in his later books, by Haskins (*Norman Institutions* [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXIV], p. 131; *Studies in Mediaeval Science* [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXVII, Cambridge, 1927], p. 29 and n. 49; *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* [Cambridge, 1928], p. 102). R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning* (2nd ed., London: SPCK, 1920), pp. 298 ff., fails, however, to list the *Moralium Dogma* with Guillaume's writings.

⁹ *Speculum*, VI, 402-407. See the review by D. O. L. [O. Lottin] in *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, IV (1932), 522*, no. 1030.

¹⁰ See below, p. 27.

¹¹ Ed. Ottaviano, *Un Brano Inedito della 'Philosophia' di Guglielmo di Conches* (1935).

sophia, or *Dragmaticon*¹²), brings to light a passage of moral instruction that invites comparison with the corresponding parts of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, and thus suggests consideration relative to the problem of its authorship. That this fragment is itself genuinely Guillaume's work is attested by the fact of its forming the earlier books of a more extensive *opus* which is otherwise virtually identical with Books II–IV of the *Prima Philosophia*, by its reference to his Commentary on Boethius, and by its use of phrases characteristic of Guillaume.¹³

The ethical passage in question is a description of the four Cardinal Virtues, which appears in Book One during the course of a general classification of the parts of philosophy.¹⁴ And it is to be noted that, though the classification here represented bears the closest resemblance in its chief details to that given by the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St Victor,¹⁵ the discussion of the virtues finds no parallel in Hugh's book. This is Guillaume's addition. It perhaps reflects the example of Isidore of Seville,¹⁶ whose discussion of the various branches of knowledge in the *Etymologiae*, lies behind much that occurs in the *Wissenschaftslehre* of both these twelfth-century writers.¹⁷

¹² It was apparently written some time between 1136 and 1141, since it refers (Ottaviano, p. 44) to an 'archiepiscopus biterinus' (i.e. archiepiscopus bituricensis; see Grabmann, *Wilhelm von Conches*, p. 10), who may be identified with Alberic of Rheims, archbishop of Bourges during these years. The *Dragmaticon*, which was itself written between 1147 and 1149 (according to R. L. Poole, 'The Masters of the School at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time,' *The English Historical Review*, XXXV [1920], 334), speaks of the *Prima Philosophia* as a work 'quem in juventute nostra imperfectum utpote imperfecti composuimus.'

¹³ Ottaviano, pp. 10–12. Cf. Grabmann, *Wilhelm von Conches*, pp. 7–8. The fragment had previously been known as Guillaume's to H. Ostler (*Die Psychologie des Hugo von St Viktor*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philos. d. Mittelalters, Texte u. Untersuchungen, hrsg. C. Baeumker u. G. Freih. von Hertling, VI, 1 [1906], 11, n. 3) and to Flatten (*Die Philosophie des Wilhelm von Conches*, p. 10, n. 8, *et passim*), who made some use of it.

¹⁴ Ottaviano, pp. 29–30.

¹⁵ Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXVI, 739 ff., but especially Books I–II, and VI, capp. xiv and xv. See Flatten, *Die Philosophie des Wilhelm von Conches*, pp. 30–31; and Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, II (Freiburg, 1911), 235–248. Both Guillaume's and Hugh's classifications are similar to that which appears in the earlier *Speculum Universale* of Radulfus Ardens: see Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, I (1909), 246–254.

¹⁶ *Etymologiae*, (ed. Lindsay) II, xxiv, 5 and 6. See below, n. 25.

¹⁷ Isidore's classification is, of course, Platonic as against the Aristotelian

Now the relevance of this passage in the *Tertia Philosophia* to the problem of the authorship which we have before us, arises from the fact that its sub-division of each of the four Cardinal Virtues differs in some respects from that of the *Moralium Dogma*. Thus, in the *Moralium Dogma* the parts of Prudentia are given as providentia, circumspectio, cautio, docilitas;¹⁸ whereas in the *Tertia Philosophia* they appear as memoria, intelligentia, providentia.¹⁹ The second virtue, Justitia, is divided in the *Moralium Dogma* into severitas and liberalitas; and these two are further sub-divided: liberalitas contains the distinctions beneficentia and benignitas, and benignitas is considered under the aspects religio, pietas, innocentia, amicitia, reverentia, concordia, misericordia.²⁰ In the *Tertia Philosophia*, however, justice falls into the categories justitia naturalis and justitia consuetudinaria, and naturalis into religio, pietas, gratia, vindicatio, observantia and veritas. Fortitudo is composed, according to the *Moralium Dogma*, of magnanimitas, fiducia,²¹ securitas, magnificentia, constantia, and patientia;²² but according to the *Tertia Philosophia*, of magnificentia, fidentia, patientia, and perseverantia. And, finally, temperantia is divided by the *Moralium Dogma* into modestia, verecundia, a group dealing with moderation in eating and drinking (abstinentia, honestas, moderantia, parcitas, sobrietas), and pudicitia;²³ but by the *Tertia Philosophia* into continentia, modestia, and clementia.

According to Grabmann in his survey of the writings of Guillaume de Conches, only lately made, these differences are decisive.²⁴ Guillaume cannot have been the author of the *Moralium Dogma*.

But the decisiveness of such evidence is open to question. To begin with, it is worth observing that the passages in the two works

arrangement of both Hugh and Guillaume, but such details, for example, as his definitions of philosophy (II, xxiv, 9 and 10; cf. Boethius, *In Porphyrium*, Dialogus I, Migne, LXIV, 10-11) and his history and description of the parts of magic (VIII, ix, De Magis) are echoed in their works: Hugh, *Didascalicon*, II, cap. i, and VI, cap. xv; Guillaume, ed. Ottaviano, pp. 24-25.

¹⁸ Holmberg, p. 8.

¹⁹ By an oversight Grabmann, *Wilhelm von Conches*, p. 12, attributes the first classification to the *Tertia Philosophia*, and this to the *Moralium Dogma*.

²⁰ Holmberg, pp. 12, 13 and 23 ff.

²¹ Not fidentia, as Grabmann, *Wilhelm von Conches*, p. 13, states.

²² Holmberg, p. 30.

²³ Grabmann, *Wilhelm von Conches*, p. 13, adds continentia by error.

²⁴ *Wilhelm von Conches*, p. 12.

contain not only differences, but also many fundamental similarities. The definitions of the four Virtues, for example, are themselves the same, having been drawn in both books from Cicero's *De Inventione*.²⁵ And this is true also of the names and descriptions of some of the sub-divisions. As for the differences, they are not in themselves significant enough, nor do they concern a subject of sufficient importance in Guillaume's scheme of things (as they would did they involve, say, the nature and powers of the soul, or natural philosophy),²⁶ to constitute a serious problem. Nor need the divergent classifications be regarded as mutually exclusive. If a point is made, for instance, of the striking difference between the sub-division of *Justitia* by the *Tertia Philosophia* into *naturalis* and *consuetudinaria*, and that by the *Moralium Dogma* into *severitas* and *liberalitas* and *liberalitas* into *benignitas* and *beneficentia*, then it ought surely not to be overlooked that the discrepancy arises in large part from the fact that these passages are here following two

²⁵ ii, §§53 and 54.

The description of *Prudentia* in the *Moralium Dogma* has, however, a distinctive touch which has escaped the notice of the editor and is worthy of attention: '*Prudentia est rerum bonarum et malarum et utrarumque discretio.*' '*Prudentia diximus esse discretionem rerum bonarum et malarum et utrarumque. Hec namque uirtus discernit bona a malis et bona ab inuicem, mala ab inuicem.*' (Holmberg, pp. 7 and 8.) Cicero's word is '*scientia*,' not '*discretio*,' and the phrase '*Hec namque uirtus . . . inuicem*,' does not appear in his work. These deviations in the *Moralium Dogma* apparently go back in part to Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, II, xxiv, 5), who says of Prudence: '*Prudentia est in rebus, qua discernuntur a bonis mala.*' The characteristic use of '*discretio*' appears also in the work of a contemporary of Guillaume, Bernard Silvester, *Commentum super Sex Libros Eneidos Virgilii*, ed. Riedel (Greifswald, 1924), p. 26, ll. 20-21; and subsequently in Jean de La Rochelle, who is following the *Moralium* (Grabmann, *Wilhelm von Conches*, p. 16). The verb '*discerno*,' used in the psychology of the thirteenth century (as based on the *De Fide Orthodoxa* of John Damascenus) to describe one of the stages by which the will leads to virtuous action, is applied directly to Prudence by the Chancellor Phillip: '*Ordinantur autem isti actus (rationis) et ad inuicem distinguuntur, ut primus sit inquirere; secundus est discernere et est respiciens bonum per modum ueri in separatione cognitua a suo opposito; tertius scire bonum per modum ueri quod est in termino discretionis. . . .*' (Quoted from *MS Brussels Bibl. roy. 1801-1803*, f. 170^v, and *MS Paris B. N. lat. 3146*, f. 96^r, by O. Lottin, in *Recherches de Théol. Anc. et Méd.*, IV, 274, n. 15; cf. Lottin, '*La Psychologie de l'Acte Humain chez Saint Jean Damascène et les Théologiens du XIII^{me} Siècle Occidental*,' *Revue Thomiste*, XXXVI (1931), 637 ff.

²⁶ See below, p. 29.

different works of Cicero!²⁷ From the rich store of moral instruction which the later Middle Ages inherited from the ancient Roman writers and their successors, a twelfth-century philosopher who sought to make a *summa* of science and wisdom might well contain several arrangements of the parts of the Virtues, according as his sources and immediate purposes varied. In Book One of the *Tertia Philosophia* the discussion of the Virtues is only incidental to the main subject, which is, as we have seen, the classification of the parts of philosophy: the amount of space devoted to their exposition is limited by the requirements of proportion. Hence Guillaume reproduces from Cicero's *De Inventione*, almost without change in language, an account which is rounded but compact.²⁸ The *Moralium Dogma* serves quite another end. Its treatment of the virtues is not incidental but the main business of the book, one purpose of which (as we find suggested in so many words²⁹) is to collect in a single work for ready reference a body of quotations on the subject from all the chief moral philosophers. Hence the compiler begins, paralleling the *Tertia Philosophia*, with the *De Inventione*, then continues with definitions, sub-headings, phrases gathered from the *De Officiis*, from Seneca, from Macrobius, from Boethius, from Lucan, and the others, in fulfillment of his intention. The two works are thus quite divergent in their results, but I do not see how this can be regarded *per se* as necessarily relevant to the problem of their authorship.

If, however, the differences between them are still felt to be a serious obstacle, what are we to judge of a further discrepancy in the very passage in the *Tertia Philosophia* that we have just been dealing with, a discrepancy which exists, not between it and a book of such doubtful authenticity as the *Moralium Dogma*, but

²⁷ For the *Moralium Dogma* see *De Officiis*, I, vii, 20, *et passim*; for the *Tertia Philosophia* see *De Inventione*, ii, 53 and 54. It should be observed that in his Commentary on the *Timaeus*, Guillaume (*Ouvrages Inédits d'Abélard*, ed. Victor Cousin [Paris, 1836], Appendice V, p. 648) divides Justice into *naturalis* and *positiva*, corresponding to the *naturalis* and *consuetudinaria* of the *Tertia Philosophia*. The variation in terminology is easily explained: instead of Cicero, he is here drawing on Chalcidius (*Platonis Timaeus Interprete Chalcidio cum Eiusdem Commentario*, ed. Wrobel [Leipzig, 1876], *Commentarius*, VI, p. 72).

²⁸ Ottaviano fails to note the source of this passage. To the seven citations of Cicero which he ('Prefazione,' p. 14) offers as part of the evidence of Guillaume's humanistic interests, should be added this very extensive eighth.

²⁹ See below, p. 33.

between Guillaume's Commentary on Boethius and the *Tertia Philosophia*, on the one hand, and his Timaeus Commentary on the other? Is this to engage us in a further problem of authenticity?

The disagreement involves the close of the discussion of the Virtues in the *Tertia Philosophia*, where the writer points out the correspondence between the four-fold nature of the soul, which they are designed to raise to a state of immortality, and the four chief parts of knowledge,³⁰ and then ends with several appropriate quotations:

Cuius anime dicitur esse quaternarius ab antiquis celebratus quattuor supradictae scientie: theorica que veritatis speculatio est, practica que morum disciplinam, mechanica que huius vite actiones, loica que recte loquendi et disputandi copiam subministrat. Unde MACROBIUS: '*Per quem nostre anime numerum dedit esse quaternarium*'; et PLATO: '*Unus, duo, tres, quartum e numero requiro*,' scilicet mechanicam que non aderat imbecillitate detenta.³¹

The Aristotelian-Boethian classification of scientia, which we recognize here, conforms to what Guillaume has said on the subject elsewhere, just as its disagreement with Boethius in the implied position of *logica* (*loica*) as a separate branch of knowledge, ancillary to rather than part of philosophia, agrees with Guillaume's position in his Commentary on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*.³²

Now Guillaume also associates the beginning of the Timaeus with the parts of knowledge, in his separate Commentary on this book

³⁰ Cf. Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, II, capp. v ff. (Migne, CLXXVI, 753 ff.).

³¹ Ottaviano, p. 30. The editor erroneously includes in the quotation from Plato the phrase 'scilicet . . . detentia,' which is Guillaume's note of explanation. I have made the correction here.

³² Ch. Jourdain, 'Des Commentaires Inédits de Guillaume de Conches et de Nicolas Triveth sur la Consolation de la Philosophie de Boèce,' *Notices et Extraits des Mss.*, XX, 2^e partie (1862), 73. See also the *Tertia Philosophia*, Ottaviano, p. 28, and especially ll. 24-27: 'Hee tres appendices sunt et philosophie instrumenta, ideoque non sunt de ipsa set ad ipsam referuntur. Videtur tamen dicere boethius quod loica sit instrumentum et pars; nichil enim impedit pro quorundam opinione ipsam in philosophia contineri.' Cf. Boethius, *In Porphyrium*, Dialogus I, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXIV, 12; and *In Porphyrium Commentaria*, lib. I, Migne, LXIV, 74-75. Guillaume also differs in this respect with Hugh of St Victor (*Didascalicon*, IV, cap. xxix, Migne, CLXXVI, 763). See Flatten, *Die Philosophie des Wilhelm von Conches*, pp. 22 and 24. For the subordinate place assigned to *mechanica*, see Ottaviano, p. 31; and Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, II, cap. xxi, Migne, CLXXVI, 760.

of Plato. Here, however, he deals, not with the four numbers, but with only three:

Tres vero tantum numeros ponit, quia de tribus simplici modo, secundum auctoritatem Boethii, agit: de divina intellectualiter, de mathematicis doctrialiter, de physicis naturaliter. Tractare de divinis intellectualiter est, remota omni opinione, quicquid dicatur de divinis certa ratione subjecta confirmare. De mathematicis doctrialiter agere, est de eis quae pertinent ad quadrivium sic tractare, ut quod regula dicitur sub oculis in figura ostendatur, ut in quadrivio agitur. De physicis vero naturaliter agere est de naturis corporum, subjecta physica ratione, tractare.³³

Afterwards, not forgetting the mention of number four entirely, he adds: 'Quartus ille Plato fuit, qui quasi ab opere se subtraxit, dum non sibi, sed Thimaeo, propter praedictas rationes, illud attribuit.'³⁴

Thus far, though this varies from the account in the *Tertia Philosophia*, there is no fundamental discrepancy. The difference may be explained by the fact that, whereas in that work Plato's words are applied to the entire field of knowledge, here they are interpreted only in connection with one of its parts, i.e. *theorica*, which is the main topic of Plato's book, and to which belong, as Guillaume points out in the *Tertia Philosophia* also,³⁵ the sub-divisions *theologia*, *mathematica*, and *physica*.³⁶

But a striking incongruity is introduced by the Timaeus Commentary as it continues with its explanation of Plato's use of cardinal rather than ordinal numbers to symbolize the parts of knowledge: 'Per cardinalia nomina illos vocat, non ordinalia, *ne uni alium praeferre videretur*.'³⁷ For the express statement that *theologia*, *mathematica*, and *physica* are all on an equal level of importance is in direct contradiction to what Guillaume says on the significant subject of the hierarchy of knowledge (or *gradus philosophiae*) in his work on the *De Consolatione* of Boethius:

Qui vero sint illi gradus philosophiae, id est ordo ascendendi de practica ad theoricam, sic videndum est. Prius est homo instruendus in moribus per ethicam,

³³ Ed. Cousin, *Ouvrages Inédites d'Abélard*, p. 654.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Ottaviano, p. 26.

³⁶ We may perhaps be amused, however, at the flexibility of interpretation which permits Guillaume to identify the fourth number, in one passage with Plato, but in another with *mechanica* 'que non aderat imbecillitate detenta.'

³⁷ Cousin, p. 654.

deinde in dispensatione proprie familie per economicam, postea in gubernatione rerum per politicam. Deinde, cum in istis perfecte exercitatus fuerit, debet transire ad contemplationem eorum quae sunt circa corpora, per mathematicam et physicam, usque ad celestia; deinde ad contemplationem incorporeorum usque ad Creatorem, per theologiam. Et hic est ordo philosophiae.³⁸

No doubt other examples of such minor variations could, with search, be discovered.

Just what sort of inconsistencies a writer may be capable of, is a question often difficult to settle. The answer usually depends on a full examination of his opinions and the circumstances in which they were formed. Nor should it fail to make allowances for the possibility that a man may simply change his mind. In Guillaume's case there are two considerations which we may well feel to be of particular importance in this matter. The first is his violent dislike of the group of teachers known as Cornificians, whose shortcuts to learning ran counter to the slower, more laborious approach of the older masters of the school of Chartres, and whom Guillaume takes frequent opportunity to castigate.³⁹ The second consideration is Guillaume's special pre-occupation with natural philosophy. Thus, when some of his statements in the *Prima Philosophia* about the Trinity and other related subjects aroused the theological ire of such men as the Abbot of St Thierry,⁴⁰ Guillaume did not hesitate in the *Dragmaticon* to retreat to a safer position with respect to these matters; but in questions relating to *Naturwissenschaft* he would not be intimidated, maintaining then as previously his characteristically objective attitude.⁴¹ And the *Tertia Philosophia* itself now adds what is perhaps a further bit of evidence of this interest, in the unhostile temper of its account of the science of magic. 'Demonstratum,' writes Guillaume by way of introduction, 'que artes sint de philosophia, que ad ipsam, que sue. Nunc que sint ab ea remote. Hec est vero magica, idest indivinandi scientia.' The rest of the passage, though related in many respects to the description in the *Didascalicon*, omits Hugh

³⁸ Jourdain, *Notices et Extraits*, XX, 2^e partie, 74. Cf. Flatten, p. 26 and n. 112.

³⁹ See R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning*, Appendix vii, pp. 310-314.

⁴⁰ *Guillelmi Abbatis S. Theodorici De Erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis ad Sanctum Bernardum*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXX, 333-340.

⁴¹ See Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 59 ff.

of St Victor's strong and traditional condemnation,⁴² and confines itself entirely to history and classification.⁴³

Now the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* contains passages which are directly opposed to both of these biases.⁴⁴ For the words in which the compiler describes his achievement ('Fere enim omnia moralium doctorum elegantiora uerba hec angusta particula comprehendit. Vnde hic facilius intueri ea poteris, quam si per multorum uolumina uagando dispersa colligeres'⁴⁵) are far more characteristic of the superficiality of a Cornifician than of the old-fashioned thoroughness of Chartres. If Guillaume wrote a book of moral instruction which he was willing to dedicate to his noble charge, it is strange indeed that he includes in it so typical an example of the claims of his well-hated foes! As for his interest in natural philosophy, it will be hard by any explanation to reconcile with this the slighting words on the subject quoted by the *Moralium Dogma* from Seneca: 'Licet nescias que ratio oceanum effundat, quid sit quod gemellorum conceptum separet, partum iungat, cur simul natis fata diuersa sint: non multum tibi nocebit transire quod nec licet scire, nec prodest.'⁴⁶

These two major inconsistencies we may indeed believe Guillaume to have been incapable of. If we are to doubt his authorship of the *Moralium Dogma*, it must, until other testimony is produced, be primarily on the grounds which they provide, and not upon the far less certain evidence of the divergent classifications of the Cardinal Virtues, which has been so positively brought forward in proof.

⁴² VI, cap. xv, Migne, CLXXVI, 810: 'Magica in philosophia non recipitur; sed est extrinsecus falsa professione, omnis iniquitatis et malitiae magistra, de vero mentiens, et veraciter laedens animos, seducit a religione divina, culturam daemonum suadet, morum corruptionem ingerit, et ad omne scelus ac nefas mentes sequacium impellit.' The connection, yet contrast, with Guillaume's simple 'Nunc que sint ab ea remote,' is illuminating.

⁴³ Ottaviano, pp. 35-36. In this work (Ottaviano, pp. 44-46), as in the *Prima Philosophia* (I, cap. xviii, Migne, CLXXII, 47) and the *Dragmaticon* (see Thorndike, II, 61), Guillaume also shows a similar objectivity with regard to demons, whom he does not describe as bad indiscriminately, but divides into the good and the evil, *calodemones* and *cacodemones*.

⁴⁴ As Williams (*Speculum*, VI, 408-410) has already pointed out.

⁴⁵ Holmberg, p. 73.

⁴⁶ Holmberg, pp. 11-12. Cf. Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, VII, i, 5-6.

REFLECTIONS ON A SYNAGOGUE INSCRIPTION (ISAIAH 66)

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The Synagogue in Leiden is a small and unpretentious building situated on the Levendaal, a modest canal near the more famous Rapenburg. At its entrance, there is an inscription in Hebrew characters, a quotation from Isaiah 66: 23, "All flesh shall come to worship before me says the Lord."

The universal bearing of these words presents a remarkable contrast with the quiet and unpretentious position of the Jews, who assemble in this house on the Sabbath and holy days. Not one of them has ever tried to persuade his co-citizens to join the Jewish congregation and worship before the Lord in that Place. As far as I know, no Jew ever does so, no matter in what city, country or condition he may live. There is a Christian Mission to Jews, but I have never heard of a Jewish Mission to Christians and the contrast is the more startling in view of the inscription. For present-day Judaism it is just a verse from the O. T., suitable for the decoration of a Synagogue, as the first part of Is. 66: 23 mentions the New moon and Sabbath as days of worship. But it must once have been a word of living hope and strong faith in a great future for the worshippers of the Lord of Israel.

Is. 66: 23 is not the only place in the second part of the book of Isaiah, which refers to a great future for the religion of Israel. Critical attempts to dissect Is. 40-66 into separate parts have not been favorable to the exegesis, nor to a proper valuation of the importance of the religious opinions expressed in nearly every chapter of these prophecies. They were supposed to state that the Jews, scattered among the nations, could proclaim the true religion, the religion of their fathers and of the pious servants of Jahu. It has remained unobserved that the universalistic tendency of these chapters involved a complete break with the past, and a desire to abolish earlier belief and forms of cultus. Priests and prophets of

the pre-exilic period were convinced that Israel was the people, elected by God (Hos. 11:1, Amos 3:2, Exod. 19:5). The name of his people will not be blotted out among the nations (2 Kings 14:27, Gen. 28:15, Deut. 26:19). The throne of David will be established for ever (2 Sam. 7:16). The Messiah, son of David, will sometime rule in righteousness and glory.

From this traditional religious standpoint the message of Is. 45:1 is rank revolution. "Thus saith the Lord to his Messiah, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him." Here a Gentile, who is not even a son of Shem, is proclaimed to be the Anointed of Jahu, the Messiah. He shall build the city of Jahu (45:13). By him Israel shall be saved by the Lord with an everlasting salvation (45:17). The prophecy calls this a "new thing" that hitherto has not been announced (41:26, 43:19). It proclaims that Jahu "has raised up one from the North and he is come, from the rising of the sun one that calleth upon my name. He shall come upon rulers as upon mortar and as the potter treadeth clay" (41:25). Now Israel must sing a "new song" unto the Lord (42:10).

But Israel evidently refused to do so. It could not at once give up the old and dear convictions and mistrust the message of all its earlier prophets. Is. 45:9, 10 meets this difficulty. It refers to what has happened and asserts that Israel is not free to criticize the way of salvation, chosen by the Lord. "Woe unto him that striveth with his maker. Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it: what maketh thou? Shall you command me concerning my sons and concerning the work of my hands." "I have raised him (Cyrus) up in righteousness, I will make straight all his ways, he shall build my city, he shall let my exiles free, not for price nor reward, saith the Lord (45:13).

The lack of confidence in these prophecies, shown by the people, did not diminish the fervor of hope expressed in them. The two last chapters of the collection are particularly clear in describing the difference between the past and the future. The present situation will soon be forgotten and no longer mentioned, for the Lord will create a new heaven and a new earth (65:17). The future Jerusalem will be a city full of unbroken happiness. The break with the past is most evident from the assertion that the name of the people will be changed. It will not any more be called Jacob

or Israel. That will be a name for a curse. The Lord shall call his servants "by another name." Even the name of the Lord himself will not be the same as in the old days. His name will be Amen (the trustworthy one). "He who blesseth himself shall bless himself in the name of Elohe Amen" (65:15). It is a well known fact that for ancient oriental thought, the name was not simply an appellative; it was a revelation of the nature of the person or thing named, almost an equivalent of the thing itself. This was especially true of names of God (Enc. Bib. 3320). To be called by a new name meant to break with the past and the present in the most radical way.

The new religious community will be a totally new one, existing under new conditions. As there exists only one God, who is the first and the last (48:17), the creator of earth and man (45:12), this God is also the King of Israel and his redeemer (44:6). So in the new religion the people will serve the same Lord as their fathers, but not all the rites of the old religion will be tolerated. The sacrifice of oxen and sheep will henceforth be forbidden. We learn this from Is. 66:3. There will be a temple and priests in Jerusalem (66:20) which will be a centre for the Jews living in all countries. They will travel great distances to bring a *mincha* to Jahu in a clean vessel, in the same way as the sons of Israel who bring their *mincha* in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord. *Mincha* means an oblation of flour or cakes, but can also refer to a gift of any kind to man or God. As the sons of Israel, living in Jerusalem and Juda, bring their gifts into the temple in a clean vessel, in the same manner as the pilgrims do, Is. 66:20 evidently presupposes that animals will no longer be sacrificed in the temple, for sacrificial animals cannot be brought "in a clean vessel."

The sacrifice of animals was a thorn in the otherwise mutually agreeable relations between the conquering Persians and the Jews. Cyrus and the Akhemenides worshipped Ahuramazda and objected especially to the killing of cows and bulls. Probably they discovered in the exiled Jews a religious belief of the same kind as their own, for these Jews could not sacrifice without their temple, now lying in ruins in a distant land. They met for common prayer in synagogues and had many teachers who discussed the older prophets and these features of exilic Judaism met the approval of the new rulers, who had conspicuously protected the Jews. Cyrus per-

mitted them to return to Palestine. Darius Hystaspes paid, in the end, the costs of the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem when the Jews were unwilling, or unable to procure the necessary funds. Kambyses, ravaging Egypt, demolished the temples of the Egyptians, but left untouched the sanctuary of Jahu in Jeb (Elefantine). The custom of sacrifice appears nevertheless to have been a weak point.

In such a conflict two ways could be followed. The "new religion" could yield to the objections of the dominating Persians, or the Persian rulers could be tolerant and overlook those particular forms of worship which gave offense to them. We find an instance of the second solution in the correspondence between the priests of the sanctuary of Jahu at Jeb and the Persian governor Bagohi (408 B.C.). The priests at Jeb desired permission to rebuild their temple, destroyed by hostile Egyptian priests, in order to bring oblations (*mincha*), incense and burnt offerings to Jahu. Bagohi did not answer by letter but sent a messenger telling them that they had permission to rebuild and offer oblations (*mincha*) and incense on the altar, as they used to do, but it is obvious that he deliberately passed over the question of burnt offerings, in the interests of discretion.

The prophecy, Is. 66, is an instance of the first solution. It objects to the sacrifice of oxen and sheep. In 66:3 the killing of an ox is compared to murdering a man, "He that killeth an ox is as he that slayeth a man" and this statement is followed by the words "he that sacrifices a lamb is as he that breaketh a dog's neck." These last words are a proof of the great influence of Persian opinions on Is. 66. They have naturally puzzled the commentators who could not understand their meaning. The assumption that the killing of an ox and manslaughter were put on the same level appears impossible, and the comparison of the killing of an unclean and despised animal, a dog, with the perfectly lawful action of sacrificing a lamb seemed equally strange. Hidden reference to a heathen cult, to human sacrifices and to dog sacrifices have been assumed and "to slay" has been interpreted as "to sacrifice." This is, however, incorrect. The Hebrew verb *nkh*, "to slay," never means "to sacrifice." Appeal has been made to Robertson Smith, who mentions dogs in the chapter "Sacrifices" in *The Religion of the Semites*, but Robertson Smith founded his conviction about the existence of a dog-sacrifice on this very pass-

age, and the commentators of Isaiah 66 have in turn based their opinion on Robertson Smith. He tried in vain to discover other instances of the sacrifice of dogs in antiquity (Cf. *Religion of the Semites*, 1st ed., p. 273) and he says "it seems to be alluded to as a Punic rite in Justin xviii. 1. 10, where we read that Darius sent a message to the Carthaginians forbidding them to sacrifice human victims and to eat the flesh of dogs." For Robertson Smith, to eat flesh was always connected with sacrifice, but we know now that his theory, in spite of some elements of truth, is not confirmed by the O. T. sacrificial code (Deut. 12: 15). He admits that the eating of camel's flesh by the Arabs was no longer associated with a formal act of sacrifice (*ibid.*, p. 265), and in the other passages mentioned by him the dog is usually regarded as a kind of sacred animal. This was also the opinion of the Persians. We see from the 13th, 14th and 15th Fargards of the Vendidad, that the dogs (and those animals that were reckoned to be dogs, like the beaver and the hedge-hog) were rigorously protected against evil treatment. The house-dog and the shepherd-dog were especially favored animals. "To give bad food to a dog is as objectionable as to give bad food to a prominent man." He who kills a shepherd-dog or a house-dog is punished with eight hundred strokes with the Ashapa-Astra and with eight hundred strokes with the Sroosha-karana (these are an unknown kind of whip). He who gives to a house-dog or shepherd-dog hot food or hard bones will be punished with two hundred strokes. In Fargard 15, this offense is placed on the same level with promulgating evil doctrines. He who beats or chases a bitch is punished with two hundred strokes. We understand that to break a dog's neck was for the Persian rulers as great an injury as manslaughter.

The cow is also protected. Even now, the Hindus regard it as a sacred animal and to eat the meat of a cow or bull is a great sin. Nothing can be compared to the stale of a cow for purification. The Vendidad enables us to understand Is. 66: 3. To object to the killing of oxen and to the slaughter of sheep implies opposition against the daily sacrifices in the temple. The new religion of Is. 66 will be a cult without sacrifices.

The great expectations of this prophecy were, however, not fulfilled. The leading men of the Jews went in a direction quite opposite to the universalistic hope expressed in these chapters. They did not join this author (or another) in an endeavor to make

a fresh start along new lines. All they did was to try and make themselves agreeable to the Persian court by avoiding the name of Jahu and by speaking of their God as the God of Heaven (Ezra 5: 11, 12). They were afraid of involving the elect people of the Lord with other nations, and so initiated a process of separation. The movement of Ezra and Nehemiah is in direct opposition to any opening of the doors to strangers by a reformation of the old cultus regulations of Israel. And they succeeded. Their application of old prescriptions separated the Jews from other people, and forced them to live together in separate quarters in the various towns of the Diaspora; the result was the Ghetto.

The great chapters in the book of Isaiah have no contemporary significance for Judaism. They are a useful source for inscriptions that have no religious influence on the religious opinions of the people, who enter the door and pass under the Hebrew letters at the entrance. We cannot blame them. Does not the London Exchange bear the inscription, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof?"

DIONYS VON ALEXANDRIEN UND DIE LIBYER

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Am Ende des 6. Jahrzehnts des 3. Jahrhunderts beschäftigte den alexandrinischen Bischof Dionys eine bedeutsame theologische Auseinandersetzung mit Klerikern aus den Gemeinden der Pentapolis. Die Führer dieser Kirchen hatten an der origenistischen Theologie einer Reihe ihrer Amtsgenossen schweren Anstoss genommen. Daraus entspann sich ein Konflikt, der keineswegs auf die Pentapolis beschränkt blieb, sondern dadurch, dass der alexandrinische Bischof sich ins Mittel legte, wiederum eine Appellation der Libyer nach Rom zur Folge hatte. Leider sind aus diesem dogmatischen kirchlichen Streit, der sich zu einem grösseren innerkirchlichen Konflikt auswuchs, nur Bruchstücke einer späteren Verteidigungsschrift des Dionys und das Fragment eines Lehrbriefes des römischen Bischofs Dionys überliefert. Daher ist es nicht leicht, die zeitliche Folge für die Einzelheiten des Streites zu bestimmen und seine eigentlichen Zusammenhänge zu ergründen. Dieser Konflikt des Dionys mit den Libyern hat während der grossen kirchlichen Kämpfe im 4. Jahrhundert einige Bedeutung erlangt. Die origenistischen Bischöfe des Ostens suchten die radikalen Vertreter eines wörtlichen Verständnisses der Nicaenischen Formel, insbesondere das von Athanasius und seinen Freunden befürwortete starre Festhalten an dem Wort *ὁμοούσιος* dadurch zu diskreditieren, dass sie darauf hinwiesen, Dionys von Alexandrien, also ein Vorgänger des Athanasius, habe das *ὁμοούσιος* abgelehnt.¹

Athanasius allein hat uns grössere Bruchstücke aus dieser Fehde des Alexandriners mit den Libyern in seiner Schrift "De sententia Dionysii" überliefert, in der sich Athanasius mit den Argumenten seiner Gegner auseinandersetzt und den Nachweis versucht, dass Dionys vielmehr ein Kronzeuge für seine Theologie sei. Etwa 40 Jahre vor Athanasius hatte Euseb von Cäsarea in seiner Kirchen-

¹ Viel schlagender war die Argumentation mit dem Synodalurteil von 268 gegen Paul von Samosata vgl. dazu Loofs, P. v. S. S. 146 ff.

geschichte nur ganz oberflächlich die Angelegenheit berührt, und jedenfalls nicht ohne Absicht nur mit wenigen Worten den Streit erwähnt, da ihm die auf Grund der Akten nicht wegzuleugende Zurechtweisung des berühmten Dionys, des glänzendsten Vertreters der origenistischen Theologie, nicht sehr gelegen war. Viel ausführlicher behandelt Euseb dagegen den Triumph der Origenisten gegenüber Paul von Samosata. Euseb zitiert nur kurz aus einem Schreiben des Dionys von Alexandrien an Papst Xystus II. (VII 6, S. 642, 3–11 Schwartz) folgendes: *περὶ γὰρ τοῦ νῦν κινή-
θεντος ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι τῆς Πενταπόλεως δόγματος, ὄντος ἀσεβοῦς καὶ
βλασφημίου πολλὴν περιέχοντος περὶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπιστίαν τε πολλὴν ἔχοντος περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς
παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος λόγου,
ἀναισθησίαν δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐλθόντων ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς ἐμέ καὶ προ-
γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν διαλεξομένων ἀδελφῶν, ἐπέστειλά τινα, ὡς ἠδυνήθην,
παρασχόντος τοῦ θεοῦ, διδασκαλικώτερον ὑφηγούμενος, ὢν τὰ ἀντίγραφα
ἐπεμψά σοι.*

Und VII 26, 1 teilt Euseb lakonisch mit (S. 700, 13–18): *ἐπὶ
ταύταις τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρονται καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους ἐπιστολαί, ὥσπερ αἱ
κατὰ Σαβελλίου πρὸς Ἀμμωνα τῆς κατὰ Βερνίκην ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον καὶ
ἢ πρὸς Τελεσφόρον καὶ ἢ πρὸς Εὐφράνορα καὶ πάλιν Ἀμμωνα καὶ Εὐπορον
συντάττει δὲ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἄλλα τέσσαρα συγγράμματα, ἃ
τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην ὁμωνύμῳ Διονυσίῳ προσφώνει.²*

An beiden Stellen bezeichnet Euseb die Gegner des Dionys als Sabellianer. Der Name des Sabellius begegnet aber in der ganzen Kirchengeschichte nur an dieser Stelle.³ Euseb kannte Sabellius ebensowenig genauer wie die spätere Ueberlieferung, die diesen Namen als sehr bequemes Mittel anwendet, um die nicht origenistische Theologie als Ketzerei zu brandmarken.⁴ Für das Verständ-

² Schon in de decretis führt er die beiden Dionyse neben Origenes und Theognost als Zeugen für seine Theologie an, während er in de synodis 43 ff. den Streit der Dionyse im Zusammenhang mit der Synode von 268 erwähnt.

³ Euseb bezeichnet Praep. evang. VII 18 den Ἐλεγχος des Dionys von Alexandrien als τὰ πρὸς Σαβέλλιον γεγυμνασμένα. Ebenso Basilius de spiritu sancto 29, 72 (III 60 E Garnier): . . . εἰρηκε πρὸς τοὺς Σαβελλιανούς. Ich nehme daher an, dass Dionys das ihm von dem römischen Dionys gegebene Stichwort (s. unten S. #) aufgenommen, und die Libyer als Anhänger des in Rom verurteilten Sabellius verdächtigt hat. So mag Euseb auch aus den Briefen des Dionys den Namen des Sabellius entnommen haben.

⁴ Schwartz, Sitzber. der Bayer. Akad. phil.-hist. Kl. 1936 H. 3 S. 29 A. 1. Euseb hat Sabellius gegen Marcell recht kräftig ausgespielt.

nis der Theologie der Libyer gibt der Name des Sabellius also gar keinen Aufschluss. Dass Athanasius nun gleichfalls die Libyer Sabellianer nennt (de sent. 5, 1 S. 49, 15 Berliner Ausgabe; 13, 1 S. 55, 12; 14, 1 S. 56, 25), erklärt sich im Zusammenhang mit der theologischen Diskussion seiner Zeit. C. 27, 1 S. 66, 15 ff. ist es mit Händen zu greifen, dass Athanasius sich gegen die Arianer und Photinianer mit Hilfe des Dionys distanziert. Mit Sabellius ist Photin bzw. Marcell gemeint.

Dionys spricht an der oben ausgeschriebenen Stelle von zwei sich bekämpfenden Parteien, die schriftliche Erklärungen an ihn schicken und sein Urteil einholen.⁵ Athanasius gibt die Vorgeschichte des Streites so wieder (c. 5 S. 49, 14 ff.): Dionys habe sich gegen den "Sabellianismus" in den Gemeinden der Pentapolis gewandt, die unter seiner Obhut (μέριμνα) standen und c. 13, (S. 55, 10) heisst es dann: Dionys habe gegen die "Sabellianer" geschrieben, darauf hätten die Libyer, ohne ihn nochmals zu fragen, wie sein Schreiben zu verstehen sei, sich nach Rom gewandt und ihn dort bei Dionys verklagt.⁶ Die Ausbeute für die Geschichte dieses allerdings lokal beschränkten dogmatischen Streites ist bei Euseb und Athanasius dürftig genug. Beide wollten nicht mehr berichten als es für ihre Zwecke notwendig war. Euseb lag nur daran, die Regesten der wichtigsten Briefe des Dionys zu bieten, und Athanasius kommt auf die politische Geschichte des Streites nur soweit

⁵ Dionys von Rom spricht in seinem Brief an die Libyer auch von zwei Parteien in der Pentapolis (Athanasius, de decr. nic. 26, 2 S. 22, 2 ff.).

⁶ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδελφῶν φρονούντες μὲν ὁρθῶς, μὴ ἐρωτήσαντες δὲ αὐτόν, ἵνα παρ' αὐτοῦ μάθωσι πῶς ἔγραψεν, ἀνῆλθον πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ κατεῖρῃσαν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ αὐτοῦ Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης. Die antiochenische Ueberlieferung hat mit Cod. WV (s. meine Untersuchungen S. 190 ff.): μὴ φρονούντες ὁρθῶς μὴ ἐρωτήσαντες αὐτόν. Die Lesart ist falsch; denn man änderte, weil man die Libyer insgesamt als Sabellianer ansah. Das sagt aber Athanasius gerade an dieser Stelle nicht. Das Gutachten des Dionys und sein Brief an Euphranor und Ammon befriedigten die Parteien nicht, daher wandte man sich nach Rom zwecks Herbeiführung einer schiedsrichterlichen Entscheidung, ohne nochmals die Meinung des Dionys von Alexandrien zu erkunden. Das bemängelt ja Athanasius gerade. Wenn es nun in WV so klingt, dass durch die Appellation nach Rom die Libyer als μὴ φρονούντες ὁρθῶς erscheinen, so ist damit ein dogmatisches Urteil in den Text des Athanasius hineingetragen, das von diesem nicht beabsichtigt war. Denn das weiss Athanasius auch, dass in den Stadium des Streites, als man sich nach Rom wandte, sich nicht bloss um die Sabellianer handelte, sondern auch um die origenistischen Freunde des Dionys; die wies tatsächlich Dionys von Rom nun sehr scharf ab.

zu sprechen, als es für das von ihm beabsichtigte Verständnis der Fragmente erforderlich ist. Nach diesen beiden einzigen Quellen stellt sich die Abfolge des Streites so dar:⁷

1) Die streiten den Parteien in der Pentapolis (Dionys sagt: in Ptolemais) wenden sich an Dionys. Dieser teilt ihnen eine belehrende Antwort (Euseb VII 6 S. 642, 8 ff.).

2) Dionys macht dem römischen Bischof Xystus II Mitteilung von dem vorhandenen dogmatischen Konflikt und schickt ihm gleichzeitig die den Libyern erteilte Antwort (s. an gleichem Ort wie nr. 1). Das muss vor dem 6. August 258, dem Todestag des Xystus, geschehen sein. Man wird den terminus ante noch weiter heraufrücken dürfen; denn Dionys von Alexandrien wurde selbst schon im Jahre 258 durch den Präfekten Aemilian verbannt; die näheren Umstände des Verhörs hat Dionys geschildert. Aemilian ist für 258 und 259 als Präfekt bezeugt (P. Oxyr. 1201: 24. 9. 258, und P. Oxyr. 110: Sept. – Okt. 259). Man wird den Brief des Dionys an Xystus, der ja vor allem einen Friedensvorschlag für den Streit um die Ketzertaufe zwischen Rom und Afrika enthielt, vielleicht schon in das Jahr 257 setzen dürfen. Xystus war seit dem 14. September 256 Papst (so Lietzmann, Petrus und Paulus² S. 13.)

3) Während der Verfolgung oder doch, soweit man nr. 2 hinaufdatieren will, kurz vor ihr muss die Korrespondenz angesetzt werden, von der Euseb oben S. 42 berichtet, also die Briefe an Ammon von Berenike, an Telesphoros, an Euphranor, Ammon und Euporos.⁸ Von dem Briefe an Telesphoros hat sich nichts erhalten, ebenso wenig kennt man etwas über seine Persönlichkeit. Ammon von Berenike und Euphranor werden von Athanasius als die Adressaten des Briefes des Dionys genannt, der dann die Appellation an Papst Dionys von Rom und die Auseinandersetzung der beiden Dionyse zur Folge hatte. Unten wird auf diesen Brief noch einzugehen

⁷ Karl Müller hat in der Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wiss. 24 (1925) 278 ff. die Reihenfolge des Briefwechsels des Dionys von Alexandrien rekonstruiert. Ich glaube von ihm in einigen Punkten abweichen zu müssen. Für die Einzelheiten der Interpretation der Fragmente des Dionys sei auf meine Noten zu de sententia verwiesen.

⁸ Die bei Athanasius erwähnten ἄλλαι ἐπιστολαί sind keine gesonderte Korrespondenz, in denen er "sein Anschauung von Sohne klarer und besser auszusprechen beabsichtigt" (so Müller). C. 4, 3 (S. 48, 24) ist ganz unbestimmt, Athanasius kann auch den ἑλεγχος meinen, ebenso 6, 1 (S. 50, 2); 9, 2 (52, 5); 10, (53, 6); 12, 1 (54, 21); 13, 1 (S. 55, 10), an dieser Stelle sind die ἄλλαι ἐπιστολαί überhaupt dem strittigen Brief an Euphranor und Ammon vorangegangen.

sein. Jedenfalls präzierte Dionys von Alexandrien in dem Brief an Ammon und Euphranor sehr scharf seine origenistische Theologie im Gegensatz zu den Libyern. Dadurch sahen sich die Libyer veranlasst, den römischen Bischof um seine Entscheidung zu bitten.

4) Brief des Dionys von Rom an die Libyer; Fragment erhalten bei Athanasius de decr. nic. 26 S. 22, 1 ff. Dieses Schreiben ist eine offizielle Antwort. Es wird in ihm der Konflikt zwischen zwei Parteien vorausgesetzt, wenngleich Dionys sich in dem erhaltenen Fragment nur gegen die *ἀναιρῶντες τὸ σεμνότατον κήρυγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν μοναρχίαν, εἰς τρεῖς δυνάμεις τινὰς καὶ μεμερισμένας ὑποστάσεις καὶ θεότητας τρεῖς* wendet. Er habe von dem Vorhandensein solcher Lehrer erfahren, *οἱ κατὰ διάμετρον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀντίκεινται τῇ Σαβελλίῳ γνώμῃ*. Nun fällt also von römischer Seite der Ketzername des Sabellius, gleichsam um den Streit in die römische Ketzerkategorien zu übertragen. Andererseits werden die Origenisten durch Marcion diskreditiert (S. 22, 12).⁹

5) Dionys von Rom schreibt an Dionys von Alexandrien, Athanasius de sent. 13, 2 (S. 55, 19). De synodis 43 (I 757 F Montfaucon) weiss Athanasius sogar von einer römischen Synode, in deren Auftrag der Papst an Dionys geschrieben habe. Von nr. 5 ist nichts erhalten.

6) Dionys von Alexandrien *ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀπολογία* an Dionys von Rom als Antwort auf nr. 5. Athanasius de sent. 13, 3 (S. 55, 20), ebenso de synodis 43, und Euseb kennen die 4 Bücher umfassende Schrift; Euseb in der Praeparatio, Athanasius und auch Basilius haben eine grössere Anzahl von Fragmenten erhalten, s. Feltoe S. 182 ff.

Die Zeitbestimmung für die Anrufung des Papstes und die dann folgende Korrespondenz nr. 4–6 ist nicht leicht zu finden. Bisher sind teils nur blossе Vermutungen geäussert, teils ist diese Frage überhaupt nicht wie von Karl Müller gestellt worden. Als das

⁹ Wenn Athanasius das Fragment mit den Worten einleitet (S. 21, 31 ff.): *ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος γράφων κατὰ τῶν τὰ Σαβελλίῳ φρονούντων σχετλιάζει κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα τολμώντων λέγειν*, so ist das eine unbegreifliche Verdrehung, da das Fragment gegen die Arianer angeführt wird. Tatsächlich richtet sich Dionys ausser einem kurzen Hinweis auf die *βλασφημία* des Sabellius ausschliesslich gegen die These von den *τρεῖς θεοί*, also gegen die Origenisten. In de sent. 13, 2 (S. 55, 14) sagt Athanasius richtig, dass sich Dionys gegen die Sabellianer und die "Arianer" gewandt habe.

einzig ganz sichere Datum steht der Märtyrertod des Papstes Xystus am 6. August 258 fest. Kurz vor diesem Datum und weiter danach hat sich der Streit abgespielt. Die erhaltenen Fragmente von 4 und 6 geben nur an einer einzigen Stelle¹⁰ im 1. Buche des *ἔλεγχος* einen Anhalt für die Datierung. Dionys schreibt hier an den Römer: *καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς προείπον, διὰ τὰς περιστάσεις οὐκ ἔχω προκομίσαι· εἰ δ' οὖν, αὐτά σοι τὰ τότε ῥήματα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πάσης ἂν ἐπεμψα τὸ ἀντίγραφον· ὅπερ εὐπορήσω, ποιήσω* (de sent. 18, 3 S. 59, 13–15). Dionys kann wegen der *περιστάσεις* den umstrittenen Brief an Ammon und Euphranor nicht als Zeugnis beilegen. Unter den *περιστάσεις* kann nur die valerianische Verfolgung verstanden werden, während der Dionys in Kephro und Kolluthion lebte. Durch seine Abwesenheit von der Stadt war er verhindert, die Akten des Streites zu zitieren bzw. nach Rom zu senden. Man darf die *περιστάσεις* nicht auf schwierige Umstände des Dionys und der alexandrinischen Gemeinde in der Zeit von Ende 260 bis Anfang 262, also nach dem Edikt des Gallien, beziehen, da Dionys nach Ausweis der Fragmente seiner Briefe wohl schon Ende 260 wieder in Alexandrien war. Euseb sagt nämlich (VII 21, 1 S. 674, 17): *ἐπιλαβοῦσης δὲ ὅσον οὕτω τῆς εἰρήνης* (nämlich durch das Edikt Gallien VII 13 S. 666, 14 ff.) *ἐπάνεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν*. Darauf wütete wieder ein Aufstand und Krieg in der Stadt, der jeglichen Verkehr der Gemeinden in der Stadt hinderte. Dionys war aber in der Lage, den gewöhnlichen Osterfestbrief für 261 zu schreiben und zu versenden. Dieser Aufstand wurde durch die Usurpation des Macrian nach der Gefangennahme Kaiser Valerians durch den sassanidischen Perserkönig verursacht. Die Chronologie dafür lässt sich durch die Papyri und die Münzen einigermaßen genau festlegen. Das 1. Jahr des Valerian und Gallien beginnt mit dem 1. Thoth 253.¹¹ Es gibt Münzen für das 8. Jahr Valerians und Galliens zusammen (= 260/1), sowie solche für das 8. Jahre Galliens allein.¹² Also muss Valerian gegen Ende des Sommers 260 gefangen genommen worden sein. Das erste Datum nun für Macrian ist durch Pap. Flor. 273, 26 für das 1. Jahr Macrians zum 1. Thoth = 29. 8. 260 überliefert. Und Pap. Oxyr. 1476 bezeugt für den 2. Phaophi = 29. 9. 260 das 1. Jahr Macrians. Also in Herbst 260

¹⁰ Nur Feltoe zu S. 189, 8 wies kurz darauf hin.

¹¹ Vgl. die abschliessenden Untersuchung von Stein, Archiv f. Papyrusforschung VII 32 ff.

¹² Vogt, Alexandrinische Münzen S. 204.

war das Ausscheiden Valerians bekannt und zur gleichen Zeit hatte sich Macrian in Aegypten durchgesetzt. Macrian kann sich aber nur bis in das Frühjahr 261 gehalten haben. Denn die alexandrinischen Münzen gibt es nur für das 1. Jahr Macrians. Das letzte durch die Papyri bezeugte Datum lautet vom 10. Phamenoth 261 (= 6. 3. 261).¹³ Zwar gibt es noch in Pap. Strassburg 6 eine Rechnung vom 3. Athyr im 2. Jahre Macrians (= 30. 10. 261), aber diese Rechnung ist nur ein vereinzelter nicht ins Gewicht fallender Nachzügler. In dem kleinen Ort war eben die Alleinherrschaft des Gallien noch nicht bekannt. Die Schwierigkeiten während des Jahres 261 sind Alexandrien und Aegypten recht grosse gewesen. Zu den politischen Unruhen gesellte sich die Pest, von der Dionys berichtet (Osterschreiben zu 262: Euseb VII 22, 2–10 S. 678, 22 ff.) Dennoch muss Ende 261, spätestens zur Wende des Jahres 261 zu 262 wieder Ruhe eingetreten sein; davon zeugt der Brief des Dionys an Hermammon, der nun ganz genau S. 684, 17 ff. zufolge als ein Schreiben zum Osterfest 262 datiert werden kann.¹⁴ In diesem Brief kündigt Dionys eindringlich das Lob Galliens, der den Frieden eingeleitet hat; und nun nach Vernichtung des Macrian, des eigentlichen Urheber der Verfolgung, des Verräters Valerians, des Usurpators gegen Gallien, ist Gallien der alte und neue Kaiser zugleich. Die kleine Wolke Macrian ist verscheucht und das Reich blüht nunmehr kräftiger als je und breitet sich überallhin aus. Macrian ist der eigentliche Verfolger der Christen, denn Valerians Hof war voller Christen, ja eine Gemeinde Gottes; nur durch Macrian, den Beschützer der Magier, wurde Valerian zu dem Kriege gegen die Christen gedrängt. Diese überraschende Verlautbarung des alexandrinischen Bischofs bedarf einer Erklärung. Denn dieses Urteil über die Dynastie Valerians, der doch für die Verfolgung verantwortlich war, berücksichtigt garnicht die grossen Leiden der Christen während der Verfolgung. Der Inhalt des Osterschreibens klingt wie der Dank an den Henker. Man kann daher diese Propaganda für das Kaiserhaus nur im Zusammenhang mit dem Edikt Galliens verstehen. In dem bei Euseb erhaltenen Edikt oder richtiger in dem Brief Galliens an Dionys und andere ägyptische Bischöfe teilt der Kaiser diesen mit, er habe verfügt, dass die Kultstätten den Christen freizugeben seien; des Reskriptes bedienen die Bischöfe

¹³ Mitteis, Griech. Urkunden d. Papyrusammlung zu Leipzig I nr. 57, 35 ff.

¹⁴ VIII 1 (636, 10–16); 10, 2–9 (648, 25–652, 25); 23, 1–4 (684, 1–20).

sollten sich, sodass niemand sie belästige. Die Durchführung des Reskriptes liege dem Praefectus summae rei Aurelius Kyrinos ob. Der eigentliche Anlass für die Sistierung der Verfolgung wird nicht genannt. Man darf ihn in den grossen politischen Schwierigkeiten suchen, in die Gallien durch die Gefangennahme seines Vaters geriet; und die Usurpation des Macrian machte ihm in Aegypten besonders zu schaffen. Um alle unnötigen Belastungen des Prestiges des Kaiserhauses zu beseitigen, verfügte er die Freigabe der Kultstätten und der Koimeterien. An Dionys, den alexandrinischen Bischof, schrieb Gallien besonders, um sich dessen grossen Einflusses bei den Christen zu sichern, und ihn sich damit zu verpflichten. Wie richtig Gallien gerechnet hatte, ergibt der grosse Festbrief von 262 an Hermammon, in dem nun die valerianische Dynastie mit höchsten Glanze umgeben wird, und Macrian auch der *damnatio memoriae* bei den Christen verfällt.

Für die Chronologie der Briefe des Dionys sind aber diese Zusammenhänge insofern wichtig, als man nun die Rückkehr des Dionys spätestens Ende 260 ansetzen muss.¹⁵ Der *ελεγχος* ist also auf

¹⁵ Die übrigen Briefe Dionys' aus den Jahren 259–262 verteilen sich so: a) Der Brief an Germanos: Euseb VII 11 S. 654, 7–660, 28. Aemilian ist nach S. 660, 25 Praefekt, also ist der Brief spätestens 259 geschrieben, vielleicht sogar als Osterbrief zu 259. b) Brief an die Alexandriner VII 20, 1 S. 674, 14, nur kurze Angabe des Briefes, also ist ein sicheres Datum nicht zu entscheiden, vielleicht aus der Verbannung. c) Brief an Hierax, VII 21, 2–10 S. 674, 26–678, 18, kurz nach der Rückkehr aus der Verbannung mit Schilderung des Aufstandes des Macrian. d) Brief an die *ἀδελφοί* VII 22, 2–10 S. 678, 22–682, 17, nach der Pest, vielleicht 261, jedenfalls nach dem Aufstand des Macrian vgl. 680, 9. e) Brief an Hermammon, 262 s. oben S. Den Krieg gegen Aemilian finde ich in den Brieffragmenten nicht erwähnt. Denn die Schilderung des Aufstandes in dem Brief an Hierax kann sich nach Ausweis der Papyri und Münzen nur auf Macrian beziehen. Ueberdies wird die Usurpation des Aemilian nur durch Trebellius Pollios Vita der 30 Tyrannen und in der Gallienvita c. 4 bezeugt. Münzen Aemilians gibt es nicht, s. Vogt, Alexandrinische Münzen S. 207, der aber Unregelmässigkeiten der Münzdatierungen des 9. Jahres Galliens auf Störungen in Aegypten zurückführen will. Ich habe Bedenken, die durch Aemilian verursachte Hungersnot in den Städten (Vita Gallieni 4, 1) mit der von Dionys (S. 680, 9; 678, 5) bezeugten Unterbrechung der Annonenlieferung, die eine Hungersnot zur Folge hatte, in Zusammenhang zu bringen. Bei jedem der damaligen Bürgerkriege werden sich solche Schwierigkeiten eingestellt haben. Also man schliesst am besten die dürttig bezeugte Usurpation des Aemilian aus der Betrachtung aus,

jeden Fall aus der Verbannung geschrieben, mithin spätestens Sommer 260. Die Appellation der Libyer muss dann unter Berücksichtigung des durch die Verfolgung erschwerten Verkehrs zwischen Rom und dem alexandrinischen Bischofs in das Jahr 259 angesetzt werden. Fällt aber die Abfassung des *ἐλεγχος* spätestens in das Jahr 260, wie nachgewiesen wurde, so hat dieses Datum einige Folgen für die Chronologie des Papstes Dionys. Jülicher und nach ihm Lietzmann¹⁶ nahmen den 22. August 260 als den Tag der Inthronisation des Dionys an. Nun hat aber Dionys von Rom mit den Libyern und mit dem alexandrinischen Bischof eine ausgedehnte Korrespondenz vor Beendigung der Verfolgung, also etwa vor Herbst 260 geführt. Auch liegt kein unbedingt zwingender Grund dafür vor, dass durch die Verfolgung eine Sedisvakanz auf dem römischen Stuhl verursacht wurde, zumal Dionys schon als Presbyter eine bedeutende Rolle in dem römischen Klerus gespielt hatte. Gerade in schwierigen Zeiten konnte Dionys als bewährter Kleriker ohne allzulangen Verzug des Stuhl Petri besteigen. An dieser Stelle erweisen sich die Daten des *Catalogus Liberianus* und des sogenannten *Index* nicht als zuverlässig, da schon die relative Chronologie der Briefe aus dem Streit des Dionys von Alexandrien mit den Libyern eindeutig dafür spricht, dass die Korrespondenz in die Jahre 259 und 260 fällt. Also muss Dionys von Rom schon zu dieser Zeit den Stuhl Petri innegehabt haben.

Es ist nicht eigentlich genauer bekannt, welche theologische Meinung die Libyer im Einzelnen vertreten haben. Nur die oben erwähnten Andeutungen in dem Fragment des Dionys von Rom lassen Schlüsse zu. Danach lebte in den Gemeinden der alte Monarchianismus, der in bewusstem Gegensatz zu dem angeblichen Tritheismus der Origenisten stand. Aber auch Dionys lernt man aus den Fragmenten nur sehr einseitig kennen. Denn Athanasius hat nur die Stellen angezogen, die geeignet waren, die Berufung der Arianer aus Dionys als falsch zu erweisen. Daher hat er nur die Partien aus dem Werk des Dionys ausgeschrieben, an denen dieser versucht, im Sinne des Dionys von Rom seinen Brief an Ammon

zumal Theodot, der Besieger Aemilians, erst für 262 als Praefekt bezeugt ist (Pap. Strassburg 5).

¹⁶ Petrus und Paulus² S. 9.

und Euphranor zu interpretieren. Allerdings gibt es kaum eine Kontrolle dafür, in welchem Masse das Dionys getan hat. Wenn Athanasius schreibt (de sent. 4, 2 S. 48, 19–22): *φασὶ (die Arianer) τοῖνυν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τὸν μακάριον Διονύσιον εἰρηκέναι, ποῖημα καὶ γενητὸν εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ μήτε δὲ φύσει ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ ξένον κατ' οὐσίαν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ πατρὸς, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ γεωργὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀμπελον καὶ ὁ ναυπηγὸς πρὸς τὸ σκάφος· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ποῖημα ὦν οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γένηται*, so ist das nur ein Referat über die Dionysauslegung der Arianer.

Denn ebensowenig wie Origenes wird Dionys den Sohn als ein *ποῖημα*, als *γενητός* oder als nicht *φύσει ἴδιος υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* oder als *ξένος κατ' οὐσίαν* bezeichnet haben. Das sind vielmehr die bekannten Stichworte der Gegner des Athanasius. Hingegen werden nur der Vergleich aus Joh. 15, 1 vom Weinstock und Landmann und das Bild vom Schiffsbauer und Kahn durch Dionys selbst (de sent. 18, 1 S. 59, 4–5) bezeugt. Genauer berichtet Athanasius (de sent. 5, 2 S. 49, 16 ff.), dass Dionys in seinem Briefe dargelegt habe: *ὅτι οὐχ ὁ πατὴρ ἀλλ' ὁ υἱὸς ἐστὶν ὁ γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος*, und *μὴ εἶναι τὸν πατέρα υἱόν*.

Denn darum hat man offenkundig gestritten, dass die Origenisten die Sonderexistenz und die Selbstständigkeit des Vaters und des Sohnes scharf betonten, ohne dem Sohne die Göttlichkeit abzusprechen, die Libyer aber vielleicht den Sohn als die in Gott ruhende Vernunft verstanden, die erst bei der Inkarnation ihre Selbstständigkeit erreicht. Gegen diese Vereinerleung des Göttlichen im Vater grenzte sich Dionys im Sinne der Theologie des Origenes ab. Und auf diese seine Ausführungen ebenso wie auf die Synode von 268 beriefen sich die Origenisten des 4. Jahrhunderts, die man allzuleicht im Sinne der orthodoxen Polemik mit Arius identifiziert. Leider hat die rücksichtslose Polemik der Orthodoxen alle Spuren der theologischen Schriftstellerei der origenistischen Bischöfe vertilgt, und daher wissen wir nur durch Athanasius selbst von dem Streit in dem 5. und 6. Jahrzehnt um die Väterzeugnisse, insbesondere um Dionys. Aber eine Stelle ist doch gerettet worden zusammen mit anderen Kostbarkeiten aus der nichtorthodoxen Schriftstellerei des 4. Jahrhunderts, nämlich in den berühmten arianischen Fragmenten in dem Palimpsest des Codex Vaticanus lat. 5750 und des Ambrosianus E 147 sup. Das fragliche Fragment¹⁷ steht in Cod. Vatic. lat. 5750 p. 275 und lautet:

¹⁷ Zuerst wurde es gedruckt von A. Mai, *Script. vet. nova collectio* III, 2 S. 231, dann eingehend von H. Boehmer in der *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie* 46 (1903)

... prouisor omnium, iudex et dispensator, deus qui omnia creauit et construxit, qui fecit omnia ex nihilo. Iterum idem ipse Athanasius antiquorum profert memoriam ac Dionysi episcopi, ut ostendat ante esse patrem quam filius generaretur, dicens: ita pater quidem pater et non filius; non quia factus est, sed quia est; non ex aliquo, sed in se permanens. filius autem et non pater; non quia erat, sed quia factus est; non de se, sed ex eo qui eum fecit, filii dignitatem sortitus est. . .

Ich retrovertiere das Dionysfragment ins Griechische:

πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀθανάσιος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μνημονεύει καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἵνα ἀποδείξῃ προυπάρχειν τὸν πατέρα πρὶν γεννηθῆ ὁ υἱός, λέγων· "οὕτω ὁ πατήρ γὰρ πατήρ καὶ οὐχ υἱός, οὐχ ὁ ποιηθεὶς ἀλλ' ὁ ὢν, οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μένων· υἱὸς δὲ καὶ οὐ πατήρ, οὐχ ὁ ὢν ἀλλ' ὁ ποιηθεὶς, οὐ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀξίωμα ἐκληρονόμησεν."

Der Athanasius ist, wie schon Boehmer richtig erkannt hatte, kein anderer als Athanasius von Anazarbos in Kilikien, den Athanasius von Alexandrien als Schriftsteller namhaft macht vgl. jetzt meine Urkunden zum arianischen Streit nr. 11. Und der Dionys, der als Väterzeugnis von Athanasius angeführt wird, kann nur unser Dionys sein. Wann dieser Brief des Athanasius geschrieben worden ist, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis, zumal er bei dem Lateiner auch nur fragmentarisch erhalten ist. Ich möchte aber annehmen, dass das Stück in die vornicaenische Zeit gehört, also am besten zu Urk. 11 zu stellen ist. Denn Athanasius von Anazarbos begegnet nur noch als Lehrer des Aetius, als dieser von dem antiochenischen Bischof Eulalius vertrieben war (Philostorgius III 15 S. 46, 1 Bidez). Der Aufenthalt des Aetius fällt in die Zeit um 330 oder nur wenig später. Wie lange Athanasius gelebt hat, ist unbekannt. Da ich keinen besseren Ort weiss, und den Athanasiusbrief keinesfalls in die Zeit von de sententia des alexandrinischen Athanasius setzen kann, möchte ich das Stück Urk. 11 zuweisen. Das empfiehlt sich schon deshalb, weil in dem weiteren Text des Athanasiusbriefes Ausführungen zu Joh. 14, 28 begegnen, eine Stelle, die in der vornica-

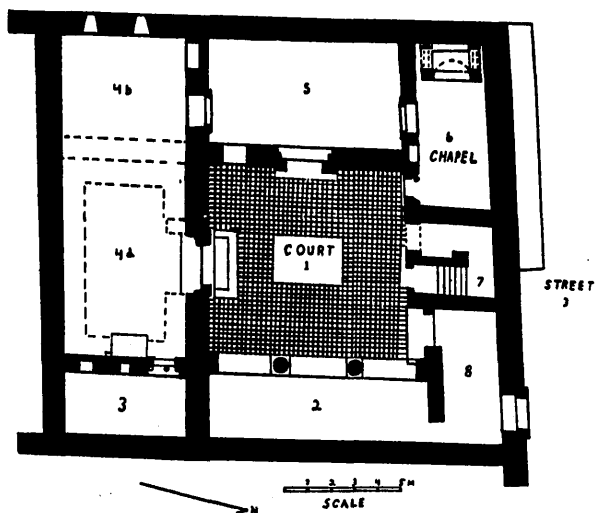
264 ff. 269 besprochen. Dann erwähnte es Harnack, Chronologie II S. 60, 2. Und endlich hat es D. de Bruyne in der Zeitschrift f. neutest. Wiss. 27 (1928) 106 ff. sorgfältig herausgegeben, seine Ausgabe drucke ich hier ab. Ein photographische Wiedergabe findet man in: Codices e vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi vol. VII p. 275. Für das Verständnis des Dionys ist das Fragment bisher nicht herangezogen worden.

caenischen Periode des arianischen Streites viel erörtert wurde vgl. Urk. 3, 2 S. 5, 3. Dass die Origenisten sich auf Origenes selbst beriefen, bezeugt Euseb c. Marc. I 4 S. 18, 8; 19, 1 ff. und vor allem S. 21, 7 ff. Man arbeitete damals sehr mit Zeugnissen aus der origenistischen Schule, wahrscheinlich wird man auch Dionys herangezogen haben. Aber ich sehe davon ab, den Brief des Athanasius zu besprechen und beschränke mich auf das Dionysfragment. Der Satz: **pater quidem pater et non filius** wird durch Athanasius mit den Worten *μη εἶναι τὸν πατέρα υἱόν* bezeugt. Im übrigen spricht sich Dionys in den wenigen erhaltenen Worten entschieden gegen eine Vereinerleung von Vater und Sohn aus, nimmt also gegen eine Theologie Stellung, wie sie von den Libyern vertreten worden ist. Und in der Tat konnten sich die Arianer auf Dionys' Formel: der *υἱός* sei der *ποιηθείς* im Gegensatz zum Vater, der der *ὢν* ist, für ihr *ποίημα ὁ υἱός* berufen. Das Zitat gibt endlich einen, wenn auch geringen, so doch sehr aufschlussreichen Einblick in die theologische Argumentation des Dionys, die dieser vortrug, wenn er nicht auf die Intervention des Römers Rücksicht nehmen musste. Da nach der Ueberlieferung Dionys sich antimonarchianisch in dem Brief an Euphranor und Ammonius ausgelassen hat, und da die Arianer diesen Brief für ihre Polemik gegen Athanasius benutzt haben, so ergibt sich als einzige Möglichkeit, das Fragment dem Brief des Dionys an Euphranor und Ammonius zuzuweisen. Athanasius hat genau gewusst, mit welchen Stücken aus der literarischen Hinterlassenschaft des Dionys er seinen theologischen Gegnern den anerkannten Theologen Dionys aus der origenistischen Schule zu entwinden versuchen durfte. Darum beschränkt er sich auf das Werk des Dionys, in dem dieser nicht ungebunden seine Anschauung dargestellt hatte. Das triumphierende Bewusstsein des Athanasius: er ist unser, teilten andere nicht, die gewiss nicht als Orthodoxer als der grosse Vorkämpfer gelten konnten. So setzte sich Basilius kaum 10. Jahre nach Athanasius' Schrift nicht so vorbehaltlos für Dionys ein, wenn er an den Philosophen Maximus, der die Schriften des Dionys gern lesen wollte, schreibt ep. 9 (III 90 C Garnier): *οὐ πάντα θαυμάζομεν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ παντελῶς διαγράφομεν. σχεδὸν γὰρ ταυτησί τῆς νῦν περιθρυλουμένης ἀσεβείας, τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀνόμοιον λέγω, οὗτος ἐστίν, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώποις τὰ σπέρματα παρασχών. αἷτιον δέ, οἶμαι, οὐ πονηρία γνώμης, ἀλλὰ τὸ σφόδρα βούλεσθαι ἀντιτείνειν τῷ Σαβελλίῳ.* Und in de spiritu sancto 29, 72 (III 60 E Garnier)

zitiert Basilius Dionys als Zeugen für die Doxologieformel mit den einschränkenden Worten: *ὁ καὶ παράδοξον ἀκοῦσαι.*

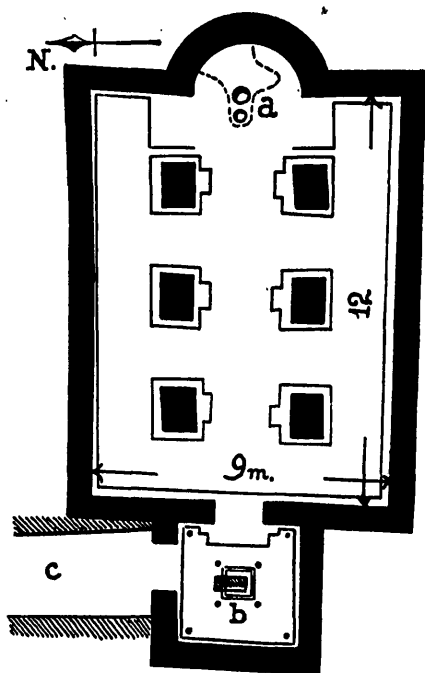
Und Rufin behauptet, die Schriften des Dionys seien von den Ketzern verfälscht, weil er feststellen muss: **in his tamen libris suis, quos aduersum Sabellii haeresin scripsit, talia inueniuntur inserta, ut frequenter Ariani auctoritate ipsius se defendere conentur.** (de adulteratione lib. Origenis, opera Origenis ed. Lommatzsch 25 S. 387). Doch scheint Rufin ebenso wie Hieronymus (c. Rufinum II 17) Dionys nur durch Athanasius zu kennen. Und schliesslich Genadius (?) liber sive definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum c. 4 (ed. Turner in: Journal of Theol. Studies 7, 1906, 90): **Dionysius fons Aarii** beweist nun vollends, dass die Origenisten des 4. Jahrhunderts durch ihre Berufung auf Dionys diesen stärker verdächtigten als ihn Athanasius' Apologie je für die Orthodoxie zu retten vermochte.





L'ÉGLISE CHRÉTIENNE DE DOURA-EUPOPOS

d'après le plan de MM. les archit. Pillet et Pearson, dans C. Hopkins "Preliminary Report . . . 1931-2." Planche xxxix.



LA BASILIQUE SONTERRAINE DE LA PORTA MAGGIORE À ROME

d'après E. Gatti "Notizie degli Scavi" 1918, p. 2, fig. 1.

AUX ORIGINES DE L'ARCHITECTURE CHRÉTIENNE

L. HUGUES VINCENT, O. P.

École Biblique

Thème prétentieux, penseront les techniciens. Thème stérile va soupirer une critique désabusée par l'accumulation de théories divergentes, ayant chacune sa part de séduction. À tout le moins, rectifieront les gens d'esprit, thème fort mal approprié pour un hommage au maître contemporain le plus éminent de la Critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament et de l'histoire des origines chrétiennes. Tous ces émois seront apaisés, je l'espère, par l'observation préjudicielle que ce titre ne couvre aucune dissertation détaillée, plus ou moins dogmatisante, sur un sujet qui divise toujours les spécialistes; il introduit tout bonnement quelques réflexions sur les débuts de l'architecture chrétienne, suggérées par un long contact avec une documentation monumentale produite par la félicité de notre temps, où l'investigation archéologique est à l'honneur, multipliant les découvertes inattendues.

Et si M. le professeur Kirsopp Lake s'est acquis l'admiration et la gratitude mondiales par ses brillants travaux dans le domaine spécialement ardu de la Critique néotestamentaire, tous ceux à qui ses travaux sont tant soit peu familiers, ceux surtout qui eurent, un jour ou l'autre, le privilège de l'aborder savent le profond intérêt qu'il prend à tout ce qui est de nature à éclairer par un aspect quelconque, fût-il de pure archéologie, "les commencements de la Chrétienté." Cette modeste étude lui est donc dédiée comme un témoignage de bien cordiale reconnaissance, par un de ses disciples occasionnels. Son but est de montrer que l'architecture chrétienne initiale n'évolua point sur un type de commande, et de mettre en évidence que ses premiers monuments officiels, dans l'ère constantinienne, eurent une originalité beaucoup plus puissante que la doctrine archéologique reçue jusqu'ici ne leur en attribuait.

LES DÉBUTS

Le Christianisme, comme toute institution religieuse, comporte nécessairement un culte et des monuments appropriés à la pratique

normale de ce culte. Son monument essentiel est l' "église," c'est-à-dire, en cette acception dérivée mais courante, l'édifice où les fidèles se rassemblent pour entendre l'enseignement divin, prier en commun et surtout célébrer les saints mystères. Il n'est pas en ce moment question d'esquisser à nouveau, même à larges traits, l'évolution de cet édifice, depuis la constitution initiale des disciples du Christ en Communauté dans la "Salle Haute" du Cénacle et les réunions apostoliques au Temple et dans les synagogues accueillantes à la foi nouvelle, en Palestine et à travers la Diaspora orientale.

Sous le vocable d' "églises privées" ou d' "églises domestiques" les historiens ont étudié de manière fort érudite ces lieux de réunions, accidentelles d'abord et bientôt permanentes, en chaque centre où la foi au Christ se propageait. Peut-être néanmoins ont-ils trop insisté, d'après leurs préférences respectives, sur une adaptation concrète à l'ordonnance nuancée de la maison hellénistique ou de la maison romaine. Suivant les régions graduellement conquises par l'apostolat chrétien, ces premiers lieux de réunion eurent le caractère varié des habitations juives, gréco-romaines, ou franchement hellénistiques. En beaucoup de cas les assemblées primordiales se tinrent en de très humbles demeures, plus spontanément hospitalières, pour lesquelles il serait hasardeux de revendiquer un type architectural très précis, hellénistique ou romain; c'est exactement, de nos jours encore, le cas de toute mission qui s'installe en pays infidèle. Au hasard des circonstances, il fut possible d'utiliser des demeures plus amples, voire même, par une exceptionnelle tolérance, quelque édifice municipal,¹ en attendant que des prosélytes de marque aient aménagé dans leurs maisons des locaux plus propices.

Le jour vint où le progrès accéléré des conversions, l'ampleur des communautés et leur organisation hiérarchisée requièrent en chaque centre un local explicitement ordonné suivant les exigences liturgiques chrétiennes. Il fut réalisé sous des formes passablement différentes, conditionnées par le milieu, les ressources et surtout les conditions politiques régionales. Tandis qu'à Doura par exemple, aux limites septentrionales de Syrie, vers le premier quart du III^e siècle, l' "église" chrétienne était encore sur le type d'une habitation spacieuse à peine modifiée pour une adaptation meilleure au

¹ Par exemple à Éphèse, *ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου*, (Act. Ap. XIX, 9).

culte,² celle d'Emmaüs, dans la Palestine occidentale, reproduisait déjà l'ordonnance d'une basilique grandiose.³ Plus d'un siècle devait cependant s'écouler encore avant que la conversion de l'Empire et la paix constantinienne aient fait en quelque sorte de la basilique le type officiel de l'église chrétienne.

Ces conquêtes archéologiques bouleversent assurément trop la routine des conclusions dès longtemps accréditées dans les Encyclopédies et les Manuels pour ne pas soulever de précaires objections. Le temps et une documentation plus copieuse les élimineront. Mais l'évidence dès maintenant acquise ouvre une perspective insoupçonnée sur l'origine de l'édifice chrétien définitivement constitué, l'*οἶκος ἐκκλησίας* dont la basilique, avec ses éléments annexes, fut le type officiel apparemment le plus en faveur, parce qu'il était alors le mieux approprié au culte, dans le stade initial de l'organisation liturgique antérieure au triomphe de la Foi chrétienne. Au lieu de représenter un type soi-disant "canonique," réalisé par des emprunts complexes dans l'ère constantinienne, la basilique apparaît aujourd'hui comme une adaptation familière, dès le III^e siècle pour le moins, aux architectes chrétiens; ceux de Constantin n'en firent qu'une application plus monumentale, nuancée fort ingénieusement pour une adaptation plus adéquate à des exigences locales particulières, dans les plus vénérables sites évangéliques palestiniens.

LA BASILIQUE CHRÉTIENNE

Pas plus que le terme d' "église," celui de "basilique" n'exprima d'abord par sa valeur intrinsèque l'édifice chrétien dont il devenait cependant la désignation conventionnelle et courante, après en avoir spécifié déjà les types précurseurs dans l'architecture antique. Cet édifice "royal" était seulement une construction de style variable mais d'ordonnance déterminée, qui tranchait sur les autres, dans les agglomérations urbaines, par son ampleur usuelle, souvent aussi par sa relative somptuosité.

Ce n'est assurément pas le lieu de rabâcher l'exposé, moins encore

² Voir C. Hopkins, *The Christian Church*, dans *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, fifth prelim. report, Yale, 1934, p. 238-253 et pl. XXXIX s. Les fresques décorant cette église domestique, étudiées par M. P. V. C. Baur, *op. laud.*, p. 254-288 et pl. XLI-LI, ne sont pas moins révélatrices que le monument lui-même pour les origines de l'art chrétien.

³ Vincent-Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire*, Paris, 1932.

la critique des multiples théories sur la genèse basilicale. Chacun sait que le Temple de Jérusalem, les synagogues juives, le mégaron mycénien ou crétois, l'habitation hellénistique, la maison romaine, les basiliques civile, judiciaire, foraine, privée, d'autres monuments encore lui furent assignés tour à tour comme prototypes.⁴ Aucune création artistique ne procédant jamais du néant, il n'est pas douteux que la basilique chrétienne ait eu des antécédents architecturaux et soit la synthèse d'influences techniques très variées. A vouloir toutefois la réduire à quelque dérivation exclusive plus ou moins servile d'un prototype structural, on méconnaît son intrinsèque originalité primordiale et la puissante inspiration esthétique nouvelle d'où elle procéda.

Sans remonter aux antécédents lointains et imprécis constitués par les salles hypostyles de l'antiquité orientale, égyptienne et grecque, rappelons seulement la fameuse basilique de la Porte Majeure à Rome.⁵ Cette basilique, à l'usage d'une confrérie néopythagoricienne à doctrines ésotériques, représente en effet, suivant la très juste expression de M. J. Carcopino, "dans la Rome impériale du règne de Claude, une église, avec tout ce que ce mot comporte . . . d'organisation matérielle."⁶

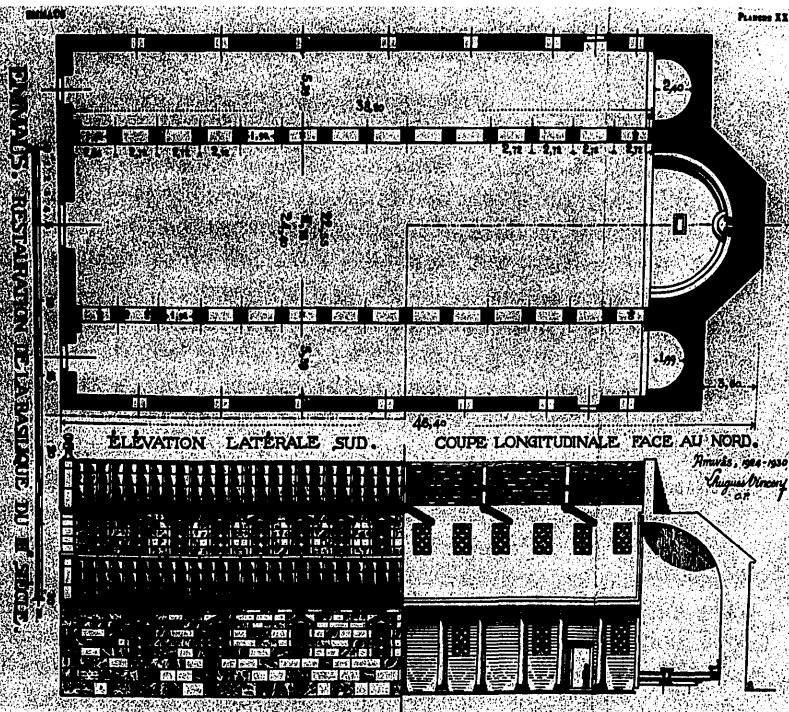
On voit l'inanité de faire élaborer à frais nouveaux, deux à trois siècles plus tard, un programme architectural absolument identique, par adaptation libre ou rigoureuse d'un prototype quelconque, ou par évolution graduelle sous une succession d'influences où les nécessités modifiées de la liturgie s'amalgameraient avec les progrès de l'architecture.

Dans cet art, plus qu'en tout autre peut-être, les aspects qu'on

⁴ Une des plus substantielles études sur le sujet demeure encore la monographie du regretté G. Leroux, *Le problème de la basilique chrétienne*, qui termine son livre sur *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle en Grèce, en Orient et chez les Romains*, dans la "Biblioth. des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes," fasc. 108, Paris 1913, p. 308-341. Pour lui, la basilique chrétienne a pour type original l'hypostyle grec, mais transformé pour devenir "l'unique et splendide expression d'un nouvel idéal" (p. 339). Il vaut assurément la peine de noter que ce concept fondamental est aussi celui de M. J. Strzygowski, *Ursprung der christl. Kirchenkunst*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 178. On n'aperçoit pas grande originalité dans le chapitre que M. H. W. Beyer, *Der Syrische Kirchenbau*, Berlin, 1925, consacré à "l'origine du thème basilical" (p. 137 ss.). La même observation s'applique à de plus récentes dissertations.

⁵ Voir E. Gatti et F. Fornari, *Monumento sotteraneo presso Porta Maggiore in Roma*, dans *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1918, p. 30-52.

⁶ J. Carcopino, *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porta Maggiore*, 1927, p. 384.



La basilique chrétienne d'Emmaüs, vers 221 en Palestine, d'après *Emmaüs...*, pl. XX

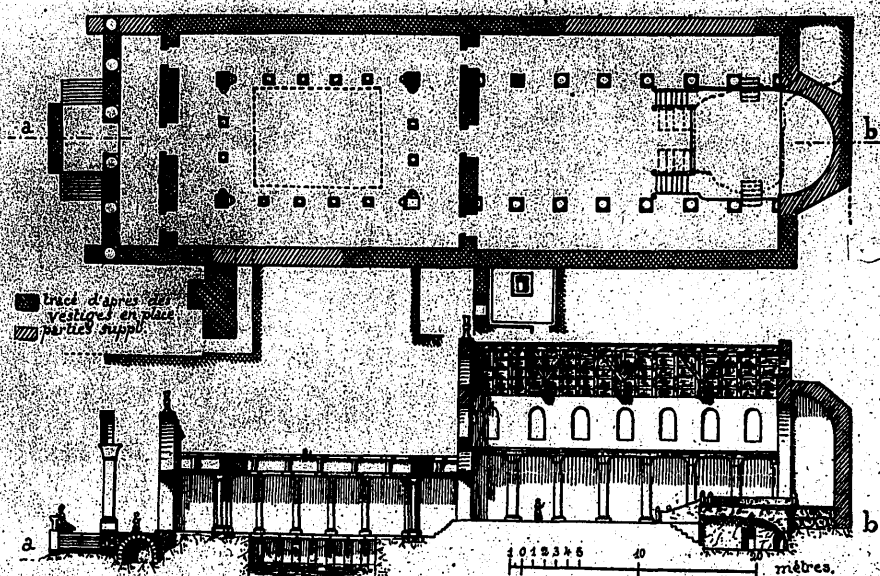


Fig. 10. — L'Éléona. Diagramme de restauration de la basilique constantinienne.

La basilique constantinienne, de l'Éléona, d'après R. B., 1911, p. 259. fig. 10.

la critique des multiples théories sur la genèse basilicale. Chacun sait que le Temple de Jérusalem, les synagogues juives, le mégaron mycénien ou crétois, l'habitation hellénistique, la maison romaine, les basiliques civile, judiciaire, foraine, privée, d'autres monuments encore lui furent assignés tour à tour comme prototypes.⁴ Aucune création artistique ne procédant jamais du néant, il n'est pas douteux que la basilique chrétienne ait eu des antécédents architecturaux et soit la synthèse d'influences techniques très variées. A vouloir toutefois la réduire à quelque dérivation exclusive plus ou moins servile d'un prototype structural, on méconnaît son intrinsèque originalité primordiale et la puissante inspiration esthétique nouvelle d'où elle procéda.

Sans remonter aux antécédents lointains et imprécis constitués par les salles hypostyles de l'antiquité orientale, égyptienne et grecque, rappelons seulement la fameuse basilique de la Porte Majeure à Rome.⁵ Cette basilique, à l'usage d'une confrérie néopythagoricienne à doctrines ésotériques, représente en effet, suivant la très juste expression de M. J. Carcopino, "dans la Rome impériale du règne de Claude, une église, avec tout ce que ce mot comporte . . . d'organisation matérielle."⁶

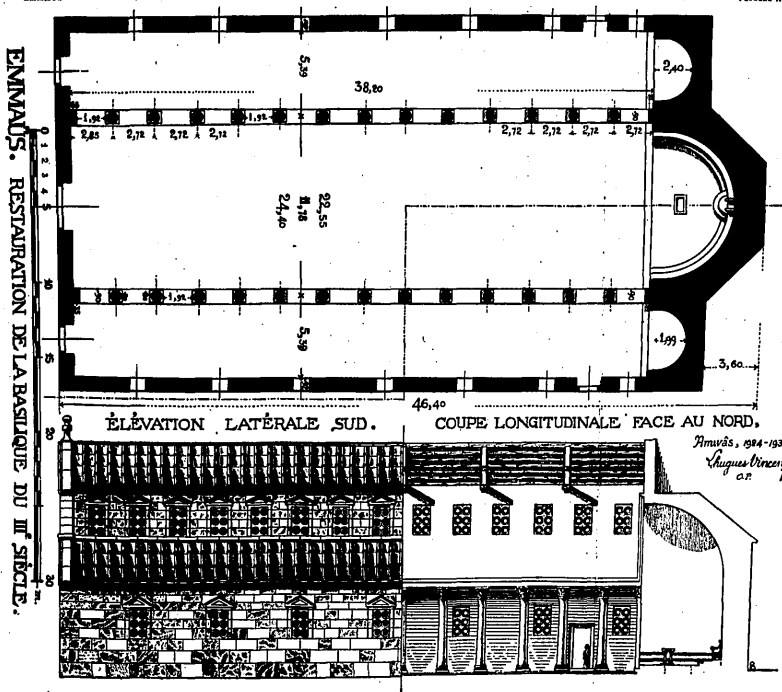
On voit l'inanité de faire élaborer à frais nouveaux, deux à trois siècles plus tard, un programme architectural absolument identique, par adaptation libre ou rigoureuse d'un prototype quelconque, ou par évolution graduelle sous une succession d'influences où les nécessités modifiées de la liturgie s'amalgameraient avec les progrès de l'architecture.

Dans cet art, plus qu'en tout autre peut-être, les aspects qu'on

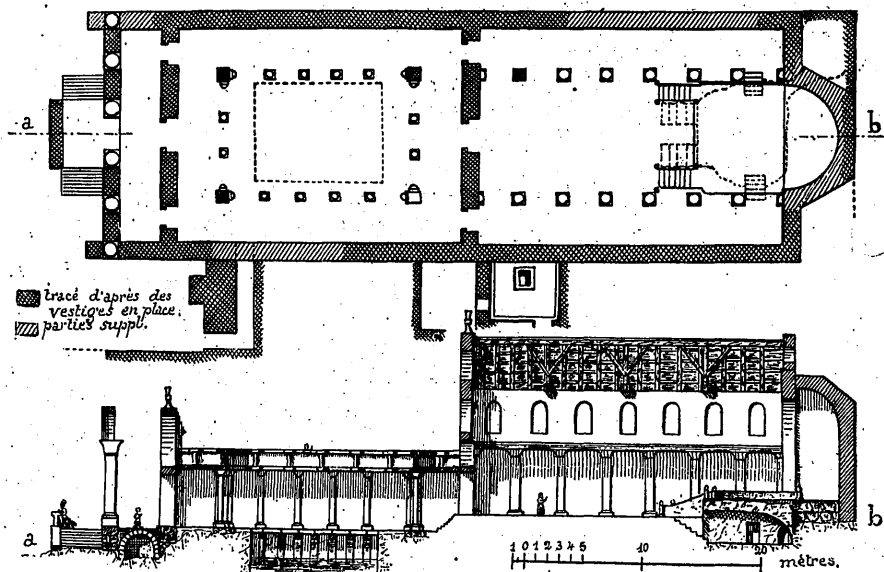
⁴ Une des plus substantielles études sur le sujet demeure encore la monographie du regretté G. Leroux, *Le problème de la basilique chrétienne*, qui termine son livre sur *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle en Grèce, en Orient et chez les Romains*, dans la "Biblioth. des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes," fasc. 108, Paris 1913, p. 308-341. Pour lui, la basilique chrétienne a pour type original l'hypostyle grec, mais transformé pour devenir "l'unique et splendide expression d'un nouvel idéal" (p. 339). Il vaut assurément la peine de noter que ce concept fondamental est aussi celui de M. J. Strzygowski, *Ursprung der christl. Kirchenkunst*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 178. On n'aperçoit pas grande originalité dans le chapitre que M. H. W. Beyer, *Der Syrische Kirchenbau*, Berlin, 1925, consacré à "l'origine du thème basilical" (p. 137 ss.). La même observation s'applique à de plus récentes dissertations.

⁵ Voir E. Gatti et F. Fornari, *Monumento sotterraneo presso Porta Maggiore in Roma*, dans *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1918, p. 30-52.

⁶ J. Carcopino, *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porta Maggiore*, 1927, p. 384.



La basilique chrétienne d'Emmaüs, vers 221 en Palestine, d'après *Emmaüs...*, pl. XX



La basilique constantinienne, de l'Éléona, d'après R. B., 1911, p. 259. fig. 10.

pourrait dire *humains* doivent demeurer à la base de toute spéculation sur les arguments de style et la parenté des formes. L'artiste, sculpteur ou peintre, travaille en plein idéal aussi souvent qu'il lui plaît; il a toute liberté de s'abstraire des réalités concrètes, lié seulement par les possibilités spéciales de son bloc de marbre, de sa toile et de ses couleurs. L'architecte, au contraire, a pour point de départ les données matérielles de son programme, et son inspiration est fatalement liée aux exigences rigides et impérieuses de ce programme, des matériaux et des ressources dont il dispose. Il pensera d'autre sorte pour créer un garage, un théâtre, un *palace* ou une église, et sa conception esthétique devra nécessairement se modifier encore, suivant qu'il sera contraint d'envisager une bâtisse en pierres, en briques ou en béton armé.

Dès que les conditions politiques locales, provisoirement améliorées bien avant le statut officiel de l'Empire, autorisèrent les groupes chrétiens à se pourvoir d'un local propre à l'exercice en commun de leur culte, le programme imposé presque de rigueur à l'architecte fut catégorique: réaliser un édifice apte à contenir commodément l'assemblée des fidèles en laissant tous les regards converger, avec le minimum d'obstacles, vers un autel érigé pour la célébration des saints mystères. Entre tous les partis architecturaux qui s'offraient dès lors à son choix, le plus avantageux, comme aussi le plus simple, était sans contredit le type basilical: enceinte rectangulaire avec files intérieures de supports libres pour la toiture; les proportions étaient définies à volonté suivant l'ampleur de la Communauté qu'il s'agissait de pourvoir, et la superposition d'un ordre plus modique aux supports inférieurs laissait toute facilité d'aération et d'éclairage, en même temps qu'elle développait l'espace utile par des galeries supérieures éventuelles. Autel et ministres du culte avaient une localisation en quelque sorte inéluctable, au fond du rectangle, sur son axe médian. L'exèdre facultative du type basilical antique⁷ y devenait au contraire une addition usuelle sous le nom d' "abside." En tout ce concept fondamental, on dirait volontiers *humain*, du programme à réaliser, l'architecte chrétien, dans n'importe quel milieu, dut penser spontanément de même sorte que l'architecte romain chargé de pourvoir

⁷ C'est le mérite de G. Leroux, *op. laud.*, p. 205 ss., 271, 282 etc., d'avoir établi que l'abside n'est pas un organe essentiel et primordial de la basilique. J'ai tenté naguère d'établir son addition nécessaire et l'origine de son éventuelle pluralité dans la basilique chrétienne (*Emmaüs* etc., p. 211-227).

d'une "église" la communauté néo-pythagoricienne qui florissait dans la métropole impériale dès le milieu du I^{er} siècle de notre ère.

On n'envisagera naturellement nulle part la copie chrétienne du thème néo-pythagoricien de Rome, mais la réalisation à peu près identique pour un but analogue, d'un thème courant dès lors et qu'il n'y avait donc plus à créer de toutes pièces. Les modifications de détail que requérait l'adaptation nouvelle furent d'ailleurs assez sensibles pour individualiser promptement la forme chrétienne du type. On vient de dire, en effet, que l'abside, étrangère au concept fondamental de la basilique païenne, devenait un élément essentiel de sa destination au culte chrétien, pour situer l'autel au centre, le trône épiscopal au fond et les gradins du *presbyterium* au pourtour. De part et d'autre de l'autel les crédences, appelées *diakonikon* et *prothèse*, indispensables pour le mobilier liturgique et la préparation des offrandes, furent sans doute à l'origine de simples guéridons mobiles, à l'instar de l'autel lui-même. Dès que celui-ci devint fixe, elles se transformèrent en réduits permanents dans les parois de l'hémicycle et prirent parfois la forme d'absides secondaires symétriques.

La doctrine la plus en faveur de nos jours considère l'aménagement stable du *diakonikon* et de la *prothèse*, faisant fonction de nos sacristies modernes, comme le résultat d'exigences liturgiques évoluées que les *Constitutions Apostoliques* auraient codifiées pour la première fois au IV^e siècle. Quant aux absides latérales, suggérées peut-être par quelque préoccupation de symbolisme trinitaire, elles n'apparaîtraient pas avant la fin du V^e siècle, devenues nécessaires alors par l'extension considérable du personnel ecclésiastique et la pompe des cérémonies qui revêtaient alors un caractère officiel dans l'Empire chrétien. Loin de moi la pensée d'exclure avec outrage toute réaction de la liturgie sur l'ordonnance basilicale des temps byzantins. Il est bien évident que la prospérité chrétienne, le développement du culte et de ses ministres, l'organisation plus complexe de la communauté provoquèrent quelques modifications accidentelles dans l'ordonnance basilicale. On conçoit comme une suite normale de telles exigences l'amplification absidale par dilatation de l'hémicycle et addition fréquente d'une travée de chœur, la multiplication trinaire plus constante des absides ou leur groupement sous forme de plan tréflé, l'insertion entre le chœur et le vaisseau d'une nef transversale communément appelée "transept,"

l'addition en façade,—entre basilique et atrium,—d'une autre petite nef transversale close dite "narthex," enfin quelques transformations accessoires de plus minime importance qui n'altéraient pas le type fondamental de la basilique primitive.

Il faut néanmoins accentuer aujourd'hui qu'on a fait fausse route en imaginant la basilique chrétienne comme une type figé, copie hésitante du programme antique, ou amalgame de composants disparates, sur quoi se seraient greffés plus ou moins tard des éléments hétéroclites. À la lumière des découvertes contemporaines elle apparaît sous un aspect tout autre et singulièrement plus rationnel. Issue du type basilical antique le mieux fait pour répondre aux nécessités fondamentales du nouveau culte, elle ne tarda pas à évoluer sous l'inspiration d'architectes qui surent l'adapter aux exigences progressives du fonctionnement liturgique. En pleine époque impériale, au premier quart du III^e siècle dans la cité palestinienne romanisée d'Emmaüs-Nicopolis où un concours de circonstances propices assurait une large tolérance aux chrétiens, leur basilique atteste de façon grandiose l'évolution monumentale déjà considérable du type.⁸ C'est un vaisseau de 44 mètres sur 22 en chiffres ronds, que deux files de colonnes répartissaient en trois nefs symétriques terminées par autant d'absides semi-circulaires, celle du centre extérieurement projetée dans un chevet polygonal saillant; au pourtour de cette abside médiane plus importante les gradins du *presbyterium* encadrant le siège du pontife, et au centre l'autel stable, érigé sur la piscine sacrée,—*thalassa*—; un atrium en façade et un édicule annexe pour le baptistère. C'est dire assez que la basilique chrétienne était normalement dotée déjà de tous ses organes essentiels, plus d'un siècle avant cette ère constantinienne où l'on avait tendance à reléguer ses origines timides et incertaines.

Il convient assurément de déplorer que cette attestation archéologique explicite demeure unique à ce jour. Nul n'ignore plus toutefois, qu'à l'encontre des assertions précaires sur l'impossibilité radicale d'une architecture chrétienne en toute l'ère impériale romaine, suite de persécutions à peu près constantes, des églises nombreuses existèrent à travers l'Empire. En attendant que l'heureuse découverte d'autres ruines basilicales échappées au vandalisme systématiquement destructeur vienne corroborer le témoig-

⁸ Cf. *Emmaüs* etc., p. 254 ss., pl. II s., XVI, XX.

nage de la basilique d'Emmâtis, son témoignage est assez concret pour faire constater avec évidence l'autonomie remarquable de l'architecture chrétienne primitive. Il nous reste à nous en convaincre mieux encore en jetant un rapide coup d'oeil sur son brillant essor à l'époque de Constantin.

LES BASILIQUES CONSTANTINIENNES AUX LIEUX SAINTS

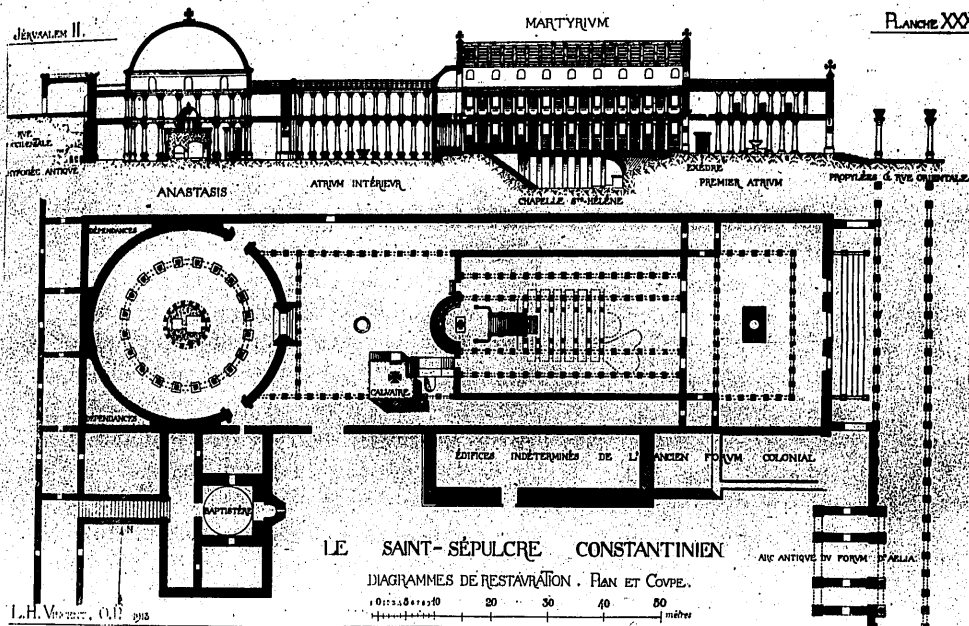
Elles sont choisies de préférence à toutes celles que fit éclore en Orient et en Occident la conversion officielle de l'Empire. Nulle part en effet mieux qu'aux sanctuaires de Palestine les architectes chrétiens du IV^e siècle n'eurent l'occasion et la facilité de donner leur mesure. De par les volontés et la munificence de Constantin, rien ne limitait leur inspiration pour réaliser des monuments qu'on ambitionnait de voir éclipser les plus fameuses créations antiques, afin de glorifier dignement les sites consacrés par d'émouvantes scènes évangéliques. Trois sites furent choisis, entre lesquels s'encadrait toute l'oeuvre de la Rédemption. Pour employer le langage d'Eusèbe,⁹ c'étaient trois antres mystérieux : celui de la Nativité du Sauveur à Bethléem, celui de sa Sépulture et de sa Résurrection à Jérusalem, enfin celui de ses derniers Enseignements et de sa triomphante Ascension au Mont des Oliviers.

Il ne s'agissait plus d'édifices plus ou moins mesquins, à réaliser sur quelque emplacement choisi d'après le maximum de commodités pratiques pour la construction, mais de créations religieuses grandioses sur des sites que leur configuration même semblait à peu près exclure de toute entreprise architecturale. On va voir que les techniciens chrétiens ne furent nullement pris au dépourvu par les multiples difficultés de ce triple problème et que les désirs impériaux ne furent pas déçus.

De cette trilogie monumentale, un élément depuis longtemps anéanti, celui du Mont des Oliviers, n'a guère préoccupé les historiens, trompés sur sa localisation même. Ses ruines recouvertes seulement de nos jours par des fouilles très circonspectes demeuraient assez expressives pour autoriser la restauration, pratiquement certaine, d'une basilique érigée sur l'autel des Enseignements de Jésus, pieusement sauvegardé sous forme de crypte.¹⁰ Un ingé-

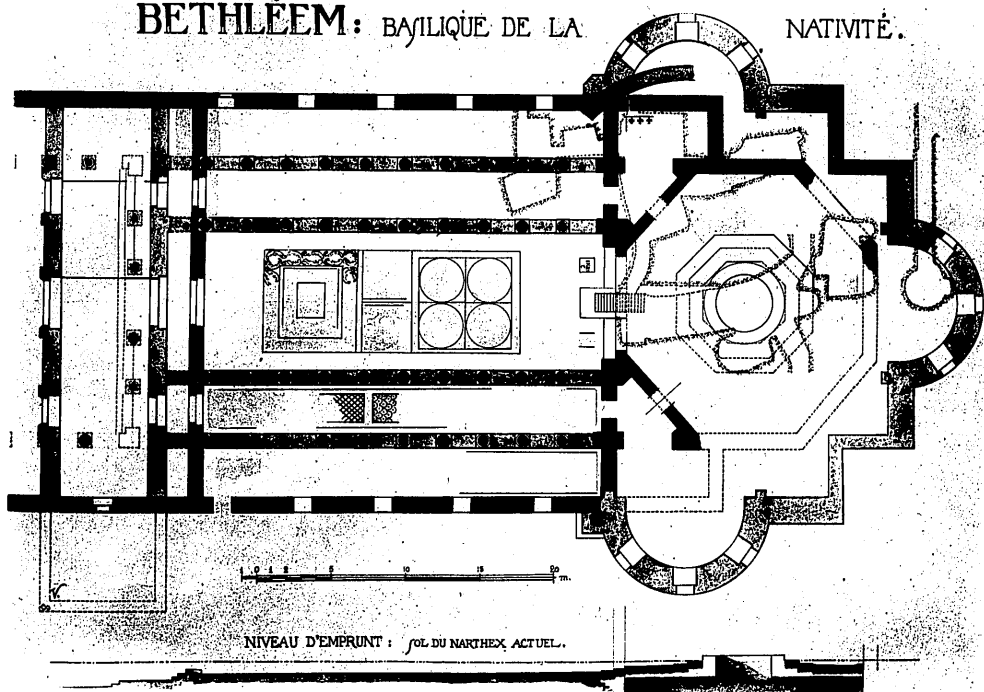
⁹ Eusèbe, *Panégryque de Constantin*, IX, 17; cf. *Vie de Constantin*, III, 41.

¹⁰ Voir *Revue biblique*, 1911, p. 219-265, et Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, p. 337-360; l'église de l'Eléona, pl. XXXIV ss. La restauration de cette basilique par M. E. Weigand, *Zeitschrift des deut. Pal. Vereins*, XLVI, 1923, p. 212 ss.,



Le Saint-Sépulcre constantinien, d'après *Jérusalem nouvelle*, pl. XXXIII.

BETHLÉEM: BASILIQUE DE LA NATIVITÉ.



La basilique de la Nativité à Bethléem

—plan de la basilique constantinienne (en noir, y compris les colonnades des nefs en gris foncé)

—plan de la restauration sous Justinien (en grisaille)

d'après les récentes fouilles.

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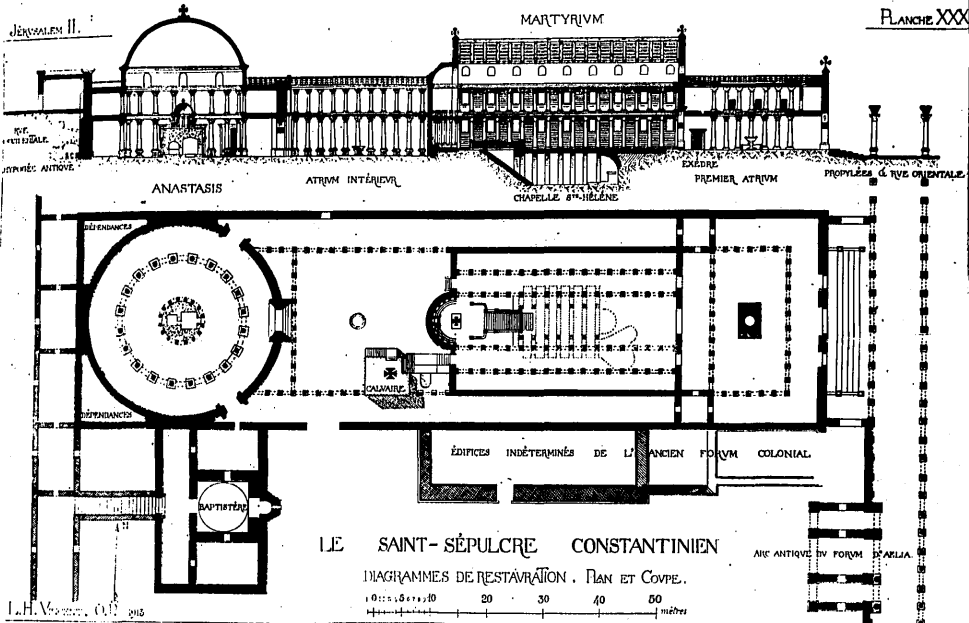
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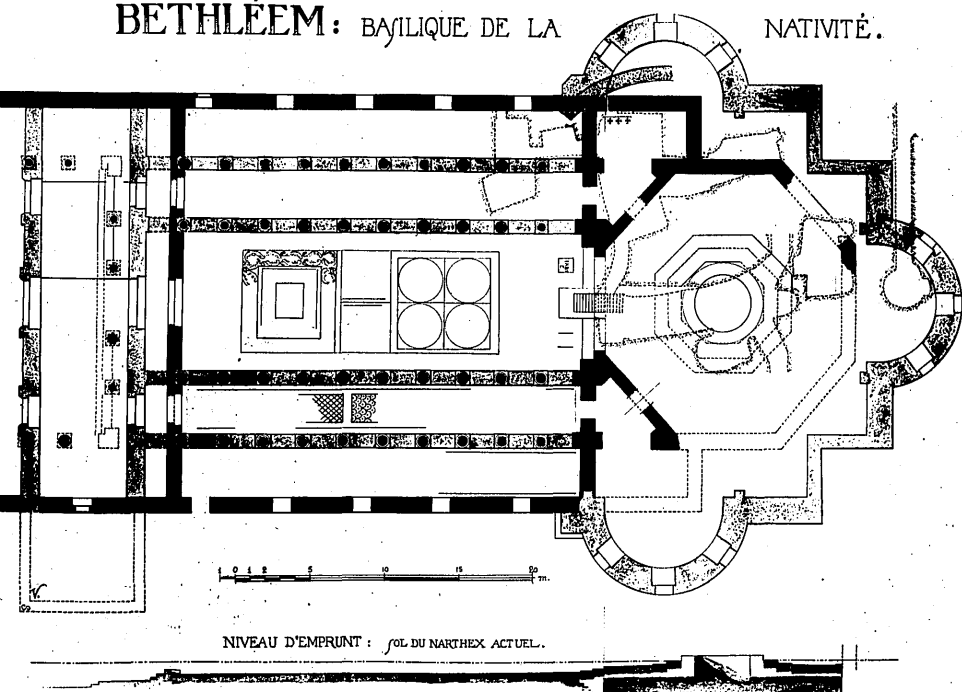
⁹ Eusèbe, *Panégyrique de Constantin*, IX, 17; cf. *Vie de Constantin*, III, 41.

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- plan de la restauration sous Justinien (en grisaille)
- d'après les récentes fouilles.

nieux système de substructions avait rendu possible un développement normal de l'atrium et de son portique; baptistère et logis ecclésiastiques s'étagaient sur des terrasses latérales. Cette adaptation harmonieuse attesterait déjà la maîtrise d'un architecte chrétien qui n'en était plus à une phase de tâtonnements inexpérimentés. Aussi bien, ce programme ne dépasse-t-il guère, en définitive, la réalisation basilicale d'Emmaüs, un long siècle plus tôt. Devant le groupe indivisible Calvaire et Saint-Sépulcre, le problème se compliquait de toutes les difficultés résultant de l'opposition foncière entre les deux éléments du lieu saint: roche proéminente de la Crucifixion et caverne sépulcrale sur la rampe du coteau voisin; le sanctuaire était d'ailleurs offusqué à ce moment par les édifices municipaux très denses de la colonie romaine, Aelia Capitolina, dont on ne pouvait faire absolument table rase.

La description officielle d'Eusèbe qui vit construire le monument, celles des visiteurs, pèlerins et touristes, qui le contemplèrent dans sa gloire avant les catastrophes successives du VII^e siècle n'en donnaient qu'une image un peu confuse. Ces descriptions éclairées aujourd'hui par un graphique aussi précieux que la Carte-mosaïque de Mâdabâ et quelques vagues imitations monumentales, mais éclairées surtout par une patiente investigation du sanctuaire actuel et de tous ses environs m'ont conduit, voici presque un quart de siècle, à une restauration d'ensemble qui ne prétend certes pas rallier miraculeusement le suffrage universel, mais qui a recueilli l'agrément de maints spécialistes qualifiés;¹¹ ses bases d'ailleurs ne sont pas ébranlées par des objections restreintes pour la plupart à de menus détails.

Le problème à résoudre ici consistait à créer, pour glorifier le Calvaire et le Sépulcre, des monuments de telle nature que la liturgie

avec une abside rectangulaire dans un chevet droit, méconnaît les indices d'une abside polygonale saillante et surélevée clairement révélés par la fouille. Quant à sa date reculée jusqu'à la fin du V^e siècle sur des arguments de style assez précaires, elle est loin de s'imposer, malgré l'adhésion récente et très décidée de M. C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, II, 1935, p. 126 ss. On constatera bientôt par un autre exemple encore plus décisif que l'appréciation archéologique de ces deux mêmes savants fort distinguées peut se trouver en défaut.

¹¹ Dans *Jérusalem nouvelle*, fasc. I-II, 1914, la monographie du site et du monument absorbe 140 pages; l'édifice constantinien est traité p. 154-180. Cf. *Rev. Bibl.*, 1913, p. 525 ss.; 1914, p. 94 ss.: *Quelques représentations antiques du S.-Sépulcre*.

quotidienne y trouve l'espace et l'accommodation propices aux cérémonies les plus pompeuses, et que les foules chrétiennes accourues de tous les points de l'Univers y puissent évoluer avec aisance pour satisfaire leur piété. Le stade préliminaire de la réalisation consistait à ramener au jour le double lieu saint par la suppression du Capitole colonial et de ses chapelles annexes qu'enfermait un *téménos* long de 130 mètres sur 40 de large, en bordure septentrionale du Forum, sans bouleverser inutilement l'ordonnance urbaine en ce quartier central de la cité. Le mamelon rocheux et le sépulcre souterrain au flanc de la colline, débarrassés des édifices romains qui, depuis deux siècles, en fixaient le site dans la mémoire des disciples du Christ et libérés du remblai qui les avait nivelés, reparurent promptement. Ils étaient dans leur intégrité primordiale, respectée par les architectes d'Hadrien et que n'avaient d'ailleurs pas altérée les faits de guerre de l'an 70 et de l'an 135.¹²

La grande enceinte rectangulaire où l'ingénieur colonial avait englobé de très vieilles épaves du rempart israélite fut délibérément sauvegardée pour prolonger sa fonction protectrice, avec une physionomie rajeunie, dans un groupe monumental de tout autre caractère. À son extrémité occidentale ce *téménos*, développé d'Est en Ouest à travers l'esplanade où se projetait la saillie géologique originale appelée "la Tête" (*Rûs* = Calvaire ou Golgotha) escaladait l'escarpement de la colline qui dissimulait dans ses profondeurs la caverne sépulcrale de Jésus. Divers aménagements antiques dans le roc, fossés et carrières, accidentaient encore le sol étrangement dénivélé sur lequel devaient maintenant trouver place des constructions grandioses et d'autre part appropriées au culte en de populaires cérémonies.

Par un procédé inverse au remblai de l'ingénieur d'Hadrien au II^e siècle, l'architecte de Constantin réalisa l'assiette de ses édifices par nivellement artificiel du rocher. En toute la zone occidentale du *téménos*, la colline fut excisée jusqu'à la profondeur d'environ 5 mètres, pour obtenir un plan moyen continu d'un bout à l'autre de l'enceinte générale. Dans cette opération néanmoins furent réservés avec soin le mamelon saillant de la Crucifixion, régularisé

¹² Sur l'existence, au sujet du Calvaire et du Saint-Sépulcre, d'une tradition chrétienne soudée aux témoins apostoliques et sa continuité sans hiatus appréciable, voir Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, p. 894-902: Vincent, *L'authenticité des Lieux Saints*; Paris, 1932, p. 33 ss.

seulement en manière de prisme quadrangulaire, et le saint Tombeau laissé tout à fait intact dans son massif rocheux découpé à la façon d'une tourelle. Ici se trouvait naturellement le point noble par excellence et comme le chef du groupe monumental à réaliser.

Pour lui conserver sa dignité prépondérante l'architecte envisagea de l'exalter pour lui-même, plutôt que de l'inclure, fût-ce à la place d'honneur, dans un lieu de culte du type usuel comme pouvait l'être une basilique. Parmi les programmes variés de l'architecture religieuse antique et jusqu'à la fin des temps romains, le plan circulaire avait joui d'une prédilection marquée.¹³ Nombre de divinités semblaient ne pas admettre d'autre forme pour leurs temples; c'était aussi le thème usuel des plus somptueux mausolées, et le Panthéon de Rome en consacrait à la fois l'excellence et la célébrité. Comment trouver dès lors un programme d'une adaptation plus parfaite à la glorification du sépulcre de Jésus? La tourelle rocheuse incluant ce sépulcre inviolé fut donc sertie dans une royale parure entourée d'une galerie circulaire double, dont la colonnade lui faisait une couronne, et ceinte extérieurement d'une puissante rotonde portant haut son dôme en manière de diadème. Digne écrin d'un joyau sans prix pour l'Univers chrétien!

Sous le très simple vocable de "Résurrection," *Anastasis*, la sainte rotonde couvrait en entier la zone occidentale du téménos, avec ses ouvertures à l'Orient, sur un atrium à portiques judicieusement prévu pour le dégagement pratique du sanctuaire et les communications avec le reste du groupe. À très courte distance des entrées de l'*Anastasis* se dressait le prisme saillant du Calvaire, trop exigü pour comporter un édifice de caractère majestueux. Il s'imposait au surplus de sauvegarder avec scrupule sa physionomie austère, évoquant mieux que toute parure le drame de la Crucifixion; rien ne pouvait dignement couvrir cette roche sacrée depuis qu'elle avait porté la Croix de Sauveur élevé entre ciel et terre pour la Rédemption du monde. Ce témoin muet devait prolonger à jamais son attestation stupéfiante. L'architecte de génie sut la respecter, la mettre en meilleure évidence plutôt, en laissant surgir dans sa nudité l'auguste roche, habilement adaptée au portique méridional de l'atrium. Des escaliers conduisaient à la petite

¹³ Sur la *tholos* grecque, cf. W. J. Anderson et R. Ph. Spiers, *The Architecture of Greece and Rome*, 2^d édition, p. 104 s.; A. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*, I, 431. Sur le temple circulaire romain cf. Cagnat-Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, I, 151 ss.

plate-forme supérieure et un simple baldaquin abritait l'emplacement présumé de la Croix.

Au double sanctuaire ainsi glorifié pour l'honneur du Christ et la consolation des fidèles qui accouraient bientôt des quatre vents du ciel pour vénérer les traces sanglantes et triomphales de Jésus Rédempteur, il manquait néanmoins encore un élément essentiel : un édifice apte aux cérémonies du culte liturgique. L'architecte lui donna la forme d'une basilique normale et spacieuse, dont l'implantation, dans la zone orientale du téménos, pourrait bien avoir été régie par un souvenir touchant, quoique n'appartenant pas au cycle évangélique. Presque au pied du Calvaire, à l'Orient, dans une anfractuosité rocheuse au flanc du vieux fossé qui couvrit naguère le rempart de la ville israélite, la Communauté chrétienne du IV^e siècle croyait savoir que la Croix avait été miraculeusement découverte. Pour des raisons faciles à concevoir, aux jours de Constantin, il avait dû paraître expédient de laisser dans l'ombre le gibet, scandale des faibles et thème de dérision pour les païens. Aussi n'apparaît-il nulle part explicitement dans la description officielle d'Eusèbe. Il faut noter cependant ce fait qu'au lieu de combler cette section gênante du fossé qui barrait transversalement l'esplanade, l'architecte eut souci de la conserver en partie pour en faire une crypte devant le choeur de sa basilique. Une telle solution ne suggère-t-elle pas quelque dessein de localiser discrètement un souvenir qui ne tardera pas à s'affirmer au grand jour par la vénération très officielle de la Croix?¹⁴ La basilique elle-même, au surplus, prendra bientôt le vocable précis de *Martyrion* "le Témoignage," par opposition au Calvaire et à l'Anastasis. En tout cas et sans spéculer sur le motif déterminant de cette localisation du lieu de culte proprement dit, elle se justifiait aussi par l'avantage de ménager à l'entrée de la basilique un nouvel atrium à colonnades

¹⁴ Dès l'année 347, l'évêque Cyrille de Jérusalem, dans les discours qu'il prononce au Martyrion ou au Calvaire, prend fréquemment à témoin "le bois saint de la Croix, paraissant parmi nous jusqu'à ce jour même et dont, à cause de ceux qui en prennent par dévotion, le monde entier est à peu près rempli déjà" (*Catéchèse* I, 1-3; P. G. XXXIII, 1168 s.). Deux inscriptions latines, dont l'une est datée de 359, mentionnent des reliques de la Croix du Christ en des églises d'Algérie. Julien l'Apostat reprochera bientôt aux Chrétiens d'adorer "le bois de la Croix." Voir d'autres attestations dans Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, p. 198 ss. L'église de Jérusalem, au moins dès le milieu du IV^e siècle, estimait donc être en possession légitime de la vraie Croix, bien que les modalités de sa découverte nous demeurent inconnues.

et une façade générale du téménos, raccordée par un perron et quelques degrés à cette colonnade centrale de la ville qu'Eusèbe désignait sous le nom d' "agora."

Si l'on veut bien embrasser maintenant d'un coup d'oeil cette harmonieuse et très monumentale ordonnance, on se convaincra que l'architecte de génie la réalisa sous une inspiration aussi profondément chrétienne qu'étrangère à tous les concepts religieux de l'antiquité, dont il utilisait pourtant les thèmes structuraux. N'est il pas évident que l'art chrétien était depuis longtemps sorti des langes, qu'il n'était plus emprisonné dans la servilité d'emprunts maladroits ou d'adaptations hétéroclites? Le dernier élément de la trilogie constantinienne est de nature à faire éclater mieux encore cette évidence.

La basilique de la Nativité du Sauveur à Bethléem est demeurée jusqu'à nos jours une sorte d'énigme. En l'absence de toute description tant soit peu technique plus ou moins contemporaine de ses origines, faute surtout d'avoir interrogé d'assez près le vénérable édifice aujourd'hui sous nos yeux, la plupart des archéologues et historiens s'accordaient à le considérer comme une création constantinienne.¹⁵ D'aucuns se persuadaient même en avoir établi la démonstration décisive par les plus savantes preuves tirées de son ordonnance, du style de sa décoration, de l'histoire de l'art.¹⁶ Vainement une enquête archéologique minutieuse avait-elle mul-

¹⁵ Citons en particulier, parmi les noms les plus marquants: E. Weigand, *Die Geburtskirche von Bethlehem; eine Untersuchung zur christlichen Antike* (1911), p. 56, 85; W. Harvey, W. R. Lethaby, O. M. Dalton etc., *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*, edited by R. Weir Schultz, 1910; J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, 1901, p. 20, 149; *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, 1903, p. 26; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXI, 1912, p. 345; R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse . . . ses origines . . .*, 1912, p. 10; Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 1910, p. 3; mais dans la 2^e édition, 1925, est admis le remaniement par Justinien; A. Baumstark, *Palaestina*, 1906, p. 8 s.; Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéol. chrét.*, II, 828, s. v° *Bethléem*; C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, II, 1935, p. 120 ss. Et combien d'autres!

¹⁶ En particulier M. Edm. Weigand, *Zeitschrift d. deut. Pal. Vereins*, XXXVIII, 1915, p. 89-135; XLVI, 1923, p. 193-212. Corroborant sa "démonstration" d'unité absolue dans la structure actuelle par l'autorité de M. Watzinger, M. Weigand se persuadait que la thèse du remaniement ne pourrait jamais être prouvée (p. 212). M. Watzinger de son côté proclamait volontiers la démonstration de Weigand "convaincante—überzeugende"—(*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1934, col. 623). Les faits archéologiques ne devaient guère justifier la confiance des deux savants historiens de l'art. . . .

tiplié naguère les objections contre l'unité structurale et groupé les indices concrets d'un remaniement profond au cours du VI^e siècle, correspondant du reste aux données historiques explicites,¹⁷ le débat menaçait de s'éterniser. D'autant que le seul examen superficiel, même le plus attentif, demeurerait impuissant à reconstituer avec sécurité l'ordonnance constantinienne oblitérée. Des sondages nécessités par le projet d'une consolidation qui s'impose avec urgence viennent de résoudre l'énigme et d'attester une ordonnance primitive originale autant qu'imprévue.¹⁸

De même qu'au Mont des Oliviers, le lieu saint unique était ici constitué par la caverne sainte, creusée dans le plus haut escarpement oriental de la colline que couronne Bethléem. Une aussi frappante analogie des données locales pouvait donc suggérer très spontanément un programme structural identique: l'adaptation de la caverne en crypte sous le choeur d'une basilique usuelle, aisément dilatable sur la plate-forme supérieure. Singulièrement plus monumentale et plus glorieuse pour le berceau de Jésus fut la solution de l'architecte constantinien. Au lieu de voiler encore l'humilité du sanctuaire en le dissimulant sous un édifice cultuel envisagé pour sa glorification, il conçut le dessein hardi de l'exalter au même titre et presque sous la même forme triomphale que le Saint-Sépulcre à Jérusalem. Il entendait que cette autre caverne sacrée fût directement à l'honneur et resplendît aux regards émus de la Chrétienté.

Dans ce but, il en fit le centre d'un édifice octogonal de proportions moindres que la rotonde du Saint-Sépulcre, assez amples cependant encore pour constituer un écrin magnifique à cet inestimable joyau. Pas un support intérieur ne morcellerait la perspective dans ce noble édifice, qui surgissait d'un seul jet pour supporter, à la façon d'un diadème, son dôme conique ajouré sur le ciel par une lanterne à claire-voie. Par un artifice ingénieux, le sol relevé dans une succession concentrique de gradins octogonaux faisait converger les pas du visiteur, comme en une symbolique

¹⁷ Vincent-Abel, *Bethléem, Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité*, 1914.

¹⁸ Cf. W. Harvey, *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*; London, Oxford, 1935; Id., *The Early Basilica at Bethlehem*, dans *Pal. Explor. Fund's Quart. Stat.*, 1936, p. 28-33; E. T. Richmond, *Basilica of the Nativity. Discovery of the remains of an earlier Church*, dans *The Quart. of the Depart. of Antiq. in Palestine*, V, 1936, p. 75-81; Vincent, *La basilique de la Nativité... d'après les fouilles récentes*, dans *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Bel.-Lettres*, 1935, p. 350 ss. Cf. *Rev. Bibl.*, 1936, p. 544 ss.; 1937, p. 93 ss.

ascension, vers le milieu du monument, jusqu'au parapet d'un ample orifice couronné par un baldaquin métallique et béant sur l'autel même qui consacrait le souvenir de la Nativité du Sauveur. Ce souvenir à lui seul emplissait tout, absorbait tout dans le somptueux monument octogonal. Comme par une transposition de la pensée religieuse antique, ce temple paraissait excellemment une demeure divine; non plus réservée toutefois avec un exclusivisme jaloux à l'intimité du dieu, mais accessible à ses fidèles, suivant le concept élargi du temple de la foi nouvelle. Sans perdre le caractère initial qui lui donnait son plus grand prix, la caverne sainte devenait ainsi le véritable centre du culte, on dirait le chœur dans une église normale.

Il fallait encore à ce monument cultuel un complément indispensable, adapté aux réunions liturgiques. L'architecte l'envisagea comme au Saint-Sépulcre, sous la forme d'un ample vaisseau basilical à cinq nefs, mais cette fois soudé directement à l'octogone qui faisait fonction de chœur. Un très spacieux atrium à portiques fut dilaté devant la façade pour abriter la multitude pieuse des pèlerins périodiquement accourus au sanctuaire, et une annexe baptismale en compléta l'installation.

Ce n'est pas le lieu de retracer les vicissitudes du monument, saccagé dans l'insurrection samaritaine à la fin du V^e siècle et restauré quelque temps après par la munificence de Justinien, sous la forme profondément remaniée qu'il a conservée jusqu'à nos jours. Mais l'ordonnance constantinienne désormais reconquise ne met-elle pas, une fois de plus, dans un relief saisissant l'autonomie réelle, comme la puissante vitalité de l'architecture chrétienne dès le IV^e siècle? Entre les trois groupes monumentaux qui glorifièrent les Lieux Saints évangéliques essentiels, une indiscutable analogie fondamentale s'alliait aux plus souples et ingénieuses variations techniques. Tributaires de l'art antique, c'est bien entendu, les architectes chrétiens n'en subirent nullement l'esclavage rigide et prolongé que nombre d'historiens préconisent volontiers encore.¹⁹

¹⁹ La question avait été posée déjà sur son plan correct par Ludwig von Sybel, *Christliche Antike; Einführung in die allchr. Kunst*, II, 1909, p. 265 ss. Au lieu d'opposer l'art chrétien à l'art antique et l'architecture chrétienne à celle de l'antiquité comme une "fille" à sa mère, il estimait que l'architecture chrétienne était un prolongement de l'antique, avec un souffle nouveau lui permettant de développer "ce qui subsistait encore d'énergie créatrice dans le domaine artistique" (*op. laud.*, p. 282). Von Sybel ne pouvait prévoir les précieuses découvertes du quart de siècle suivant.

Bien avant le triomphe officiel du Christianisme, leur art, inspiré par les exigences très conscientes de leur foi sut créer d'harmonieux programmes nouveaux. Et quand le premier empereur chrétien souhaita de les voir glorifier le berceau de la Foi, par des monuments capables de rivaliser avec les créations antiques, ils se révélèrent en mesure de ne pas décevoir ses espérances.

L'architecture chrétienne, désormais autonome, riche de sève nouvelle, allait s'acheminer vers un glorieux avenir.

THE EARLY MUSLIM SECTS

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The origin of the early Muslim sects is still a moot question. Scholars such as Marracci,¹ Pocock,² Sale,³ and even de Sacy,⁴ who wrote before the middle of the nineteenth century, discussed sectarianism in Islam from a strictly theological point of view and based their discussion for the most part on two authorities, al-Shahristani⁵ and al-Jurjani.⁶ They described and classified the sects, after the manner of their sources, according to their divergences from the chief doctrines of orthodox Islam. The Shi'ites and the Kharijites were heretical because of their peculiar opinions upon the Caliphate, and the Kharijites and the Murji'ites in virtue of their singular beliefs concerning the true constitution of faith or religion and the relation of belief and works thereto. The Qadrites and Mu'tazilites were schismatics because of their championship of the doctrine of free-will, and the latter also in virtue of their advocacy of unorthodox notions of God's nature. The ruling genius of such judgments and classifications is heresiography, not history.

From the middle of the nineteenth century a different spirit has inspired Western students' discussion of the Muslim sects. The studies of such scholars as von Kremer,⁷ Wellhausen,⁸ Goldziher,⁹

¹ L. Marracci: *Alcorani textus universus* etc. (1698), Prodomus 111.

² Edw. Pocock: *Specimen historiae Arabum* etc. (1650).

³ G. Sale: *The Preliminary Discourse* to his translation of the Koran.

⁴ A. I. Silvestre de Sacy: *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Introduction.

⁵ His *Kitab al Milal wa'l-Nihal*.

⁶ The *Mawaqif* of al-Iji with al-Jurjani's commentary. See Soerensen's edition of *Statio Quinta et Sexta* (1848).

⁷ Alfred von Kremer: *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen; Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*.

⁸ J. Wellhausen: *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz; Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI; *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*.

⁹ I. Goldziher: *Vorlesungen über den Islam*.

van Vloten,¹⁰ Lammens¹¹ and Macdonald¹² have thrown a wealth of light upon the character of the young Muslim community and upon the political, social, and economic forces that influenced it; and the sectarian development of this early period is no longer portrayed as an isolated, unconditioned, religious phenomenon, but has taken its place as an integral part of a single historical movement. In this movement the early sects played many and various rôles.

Sometimes they exhibit the features of political partisans, sometimes the traits of social reformers, and again they are crusaders for economic justice. Here they appear as interpreters of the law, there as exponents of some theological doctrine, and again they are followers of gospels and prophets. All sorts of motives inspire and shape the course of their development, and probably their beginnings were also actuated by very mixed motives. To determine their origins, however, within the historical complex requires not only a recognition of their essential nature as sects and of the characteristic motives of sects in general and these Islamic sects in particular, but also a consideration of the sources from which the early Muslims drew the issues that led to the formation of sects within their community.

Most recent studies have emphasized the political and economical factors accompanying the beginnings of the early Muslim sects. The three principal early sects, the Shi'ites, Kharijites, and Murji'ites, were all involved in the partisan struggle for the Caliphate which broke out after the murder of the third Caliph (the Umayyad, 'Uthman)¹³ and the first phase of which ended with the consolidation of the Muslim empire under the Umayyad, 'Abd al-Malik. During this period of about forty years the Arabs of Syria, Iraq, and the Hijaz, with its cities of pious memory, Mecca and Medina, were engaged in a triangular contest with each other for control of the dominions conquered by the three first successors of the Prophet. The Syrians, in general, espoused the cause of the

¹⁰ G. van Vloten: *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiïsme, et les croyances messianiques sous le Khalifat des Ommayyades.*

¹¹ H. Lammens: *Études sur le règne du Calife Omayyade, Mo'awia 1^{er}; Le Califat de Yazid 1^{er}; L'avènement des Marwanides et le Califat de Marwan 1^{er}* (Mélanges de la faculté orientale, Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth, vols. I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, XII).

¹² D. B. Macdonald: *Development of Muslim . . . Theology.*

¹³ See Tabari (ed. de Goeje) I, 3008 ff.

Umayyads, Meccan aristocrats from pagan times. The Hijaz favoured the younger Muslim aristocracy consisting of the oldest and closest companions of the Prophet and their descendants. Iraq seems to have been first and foremost anti-Syrian and anti-Umayyad, supporting the fourth Caliph, 'Ali, and his heirs, or any other leader who raised the standard of revolt against the "House of the Curse," the Umayyads of Damascus.

The political affiliations of the three aforesaid sects are fairly clear. The Shi'ites were fervent adherents of the claims of the descendants of 'Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, to the Caliphate, and fanatical opponents of the Umayyads. Their chief centre was Kufa in Iraq. The Kharijites were also bitter enemies of the Umayyad dynasty, but their hatred of the 'Alids was just as fierce and enduring. Basra was their centre at first, but they spread to Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia. The Murji'ites were on the whole either favourable to the Umayyads, or neutral in their sentiments.

In his *Vorlesungen*,¹⁴ therefore, Goldziher seeks to demonstrate that the origin of the Murji'ites must be sought in their concern for the interests of the Muslim state which demanded, in their view, an immediate liquidation of the dynastic question along practical lines and loyalty to, or at least sufferance of, the Umayyad Caliphs as de facto rulers. Essentially and originally, therefore, they were a loyalist party supporting the reigning house against 'Alid pretenders and their Shi'ite followers. The originating and determining motive of the party was a political one, and its emphasis on the dogmatic evaluation of the influence of works and belief upon salvation was a later development. In the beginning it was a political party, not a religious sect.

In his *Recherches sur la domination arabe* etc.¹⁵ van Vloten is still more dogmatic and general than Goldziher and claims a political origin for all three sects. They were, in his opinion, simply political parties pursuing purely political ends up to the last decade of the seventh century, when their political hopes and aspirations were finally blasted in the days of the Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik. Only then, and not till then, did they assume a religious character and turn their attention to social and religious questions. In the beginning their motives and ends were political, not religious.

The evolution of political parties into religious sects may seem

¹⁴ *Vorlesungen* p. 87 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. especially pp. 34-38.

a strange phenomenon; but it is not an impossible one, if one considers the essential nature of Islam. For as Sir Mohammed Iqbal has said,¹⁶ "In Islam it is the same reality which appears as Church looked at from one point of view, and State from another. It is not true to say that Church and State are two sides or facets of the same thing. Islam is a simple and indivisible reality, which is one or other, as your point of view varies." And again, "The state according to Islam is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization."

This picture of Islam is, of course, an ideal one. Nevertheless the separation of Church and State has never been formally recognized in Islam, at least up to our own days.¹⁷ Islam is the Community (Ummah) of Allah, and the bond of unity is the Faith. The power of Allah pervades every function of the state, and Justice, Finance and War are just as sacred offices as Divine Service. To be a Muslim has meant to be at the same time and by the same token a citizen of the State and a member of the Church, and vice-versa, to be a heretic is equivalent to being a rebel.^{17a} What we think of as two relationships is for the Muslim one.

The very nature of Islam, therefore, raises a reasonable doubt about the original political character of the early sects. It is true that the occasion of their first appearance in history bears for us the hall-mark of a political issue, for undoubtedly it was their stand on the question of the succession to the Caliphate that first brought them into active and organized opposition to duly constituted authority. Muslim authorities are agreed on this point, and the scheme of their presentation of the events that led up to the rise of the sects is invariably the same. Some merely develop the scheme somewhat further than others.

The conception of Islam which lies behind the scheme has already been delineated in the words of Sir Mohammed Iqbal. Islam is presented as God's will for man, a divinely instituted order for the regulation of every human activity, secular and religious. By virtue, therefore, of its very origin and nature Islam is universal

¹⁶ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 146 and 147.

¹⁷ Compare, however, the studies of Sir T. W. Arnold, Snouck Hurgronje, Ali Abd al-Razek, and Muhammed Barakatulla on the Caliphate. See also J. Horowitz in *Der Islam*, XV (1926). Rachid Rida, *Le Califat*.

^{17a} Cf. the use of the words, Khārij and māriq.

and a formal unity. Its temporal unity, however, was broken in the first instance by dissensions over the question of authority or succession to the leadership of the order, which were the occasion of the rise of the early sects, and, in the second place, by the introduction into the pure doctrine of Islam of false notions from alien philosophies. At this point arose the later sects, such as the Qadariites and the Mu'tazilites.¹⁸

The actual historical occasion for the outbreak of civil war in Islam over the Caliphate question was the murder of the third Caliph.¹⁹ 'Uthman is usually described as a good and pious man but a weak ruler, whose exalted position was used by his Umayyad kinsmen to acquire for themselves wealth, power, and office. His elevation to the Caliphate was apparently a compromise between the contending factions of the Prophet's son-in-law 'Ali on the one hand, and of the two old companions of the Prophet, Talha and al-Zubayr, supported by the Prophet's favourite wife and the first Caliph's Daughter, 'A'isha, on the other. Both factions evidently imagined that they could gain their ends through 'Uthman, but his nepotism disillusioned them and their ensuing intrigues against him were at least the indirect cause of his murder. And at his death their rivalry flared into civil war, wherein 'Ali was at first the victor. The Umayyads, however, led by the astute and politic governor of Syria, Mu'awiya, entered the lists and bore off the prize of the Caliphate. In these circumstances the early sects were born.

The Imamite heresiographer al-Naubakhti, whose influence was chiefly responsible for the adoption of Mu'tazilite doctrines by the Shi'ite Imamites, gives a good résumé of Muslim historical tradition.²⁰ He begins his account of the sects with the death of the Prophet, a starting-point which is logically sound and historically defensible if the Muslim conception of Islam be granted. His statement runs, briefly, as follows:

On Mohammed's death the Muslim community split into three parties on the question of a successor to the prophet, (1) the Shi'ah

¹⁸ See *Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhaenger des Islams* of al-Ash'ari, edited by H. Ritter (*Bibliotheca Islamica* 1a, p. 3, 1. 13 ff.; Shahrastani (ed. Cureton), p. 5, 1. 14 ff.; *Die Sekten der Shi'a* of al-Naubakhti edited by H. Ritter (*Bibliotheca Islamica* 4), p. 1 ff.

¹⁹ Tabari I, 3008 ff.

²⁰ *Die Sekten der Shi'a*, p. 1 ff.

which was the party of 'Ali,²¹ (2) the Ansars or Medinans who proposed one of their own number, Sa'd b. 'Ibadah al-Khazraji, and (3) the party of Abu Bakr, the first Caliph. The Ansars finally accepted Abu Bakr, except for a few who remained loyal to Sa'd, who was later killed in the Hauran.

An unidentified party, however, seceded from Abu Bakr and said: "We will not give the poor-rates to him until we know for certain to whom the command belongs and whom the Prophet has chosen as successor."²²

Abu Bakr had no sooner assumed the Caliphate than most of the Arab tribes, and particularly the powerful Ḥanifah tribe, revolted. The rebellion was promptly put down, whereupon the tribes returned to the fold of Islam and were named the Ahl al-Ridda (the Apostates). But "They did not cease to act together as a unit until they took vengeance on 'Uthman."²³

The Muslim community then divided into three parties. The first was the party of 'Ali, now chosen as the fourth Caliph. The second was composed of such men as Sa'd b. Abi-Waqqas and 'Abdullah, the son of the second Caliph 'Umar, who accepted 'Ali's caliphate but refused to fight either for or against him. They were named Mu'tazilites and were the fore-runners of all who bear that name.²⁴ The third party was that of Ṭalhā and al-Zubayr. They rebelled against 'Ali, after swearing allegiance to him, and were defeated at the battle of the Camel, in which both of them were killed.

Some of their party, however, escaped and fled to the Umayyad governor of Syria, Mu'awiya; and the Syrians sided with them and opposed 'Ali, demanding revenge for 'Uthman and holding 'Ali and his followers responsible for his blood. The armies of 'Ali and

²¹ The existence of 'Ali's party at the death of the prophet is a fundamental part of Shi'ite tradition. It should be observed that nothing further is known about it.

²² A principle later applied by the Kharijites to the question of the observance of the law. Cf. also the positions of the Murj'ites and Mu'tazilites on Sinners.

²³ Thus freeing 'Ali from implication in Uthman's murder. Note the Shi'ite tendency.

²⁴ A statement that supports the judgment of Ahmed Amin of Cairo, that the name, Mu'tazilite, had a political origin, and is to be explained by the neutrality of such persons. (*Actes du XVIII^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Leiden, 1932, 224.) The idea had already been advanced by Lammens in his work on Ṭa'if at the time of the Hijrah, p. 279. Cf. his *Mo'awia*, p. 119 ff.

Mu'awiya met at Siffin on the Euphrates, and the day was practically decided in 'Ali's favour, when Mu'awiya proposed that the issue between them should be settled not by spilling the blood of Muslims but by an appeal to the Koran. 'Ali's own followers forced him to accept his rival's insidious proposal and to forego the victory. He and Mu'awiya appointed two arbitrators to adjudge the dispute.

A party of 'Ali's followers thereupon rebelled and opposed him because of his acceptance of the adjudication of the question at the hands of the two arbitrators. They said: "The judgment belongs to God alone," and they accused 'Ali of unbelief, and repudiated him. These were the Kharijites.²⁵

'Ali was murdered, and at his death his party and that of Talha and al-Zubayr joined with the followers of Mu'awiya and formed one party. Only a few of 'Ali's party (Shi'ah) and those who held that he should have succeeded the Prophet as Imam or leader of the Muslim community remained aloof. Mu'awiya's Party consisted of the generality of Muslims, the masses, the followers of kings and the supporters of conquerors. They were named in toto Murji'ites because they were conciliatory towards their opponents and believed that all who prayed towards Mecca were believers, if they confessed formally and hoped for the forgiveness of them all.

The moderately Shi'ite tendency of al-Naubakhti's account is transparent; and the fact that the Muslim tradition pushes back the origins of sectarianism in Islam to the death of the Prophet is probably also due to Shi'ite influence. For in Shi'ite eyes sects began with the rejection of 'Ali's just claim to the leadership of the Muslim community after the death of the Prophet, and there is a consistent Shi'ite tinge in the Muslim histories of the 'Abbasid period.²⁶

Al-Naubakhti's narrative, however, has been quoted at such length in order to point out a peculiarity that is general to Muslim discussions of the early sects. No distinctions are drawn by al-Naubakhti between the various parties mentioned by him, and the same name (Firqah) is applied to them all. The party of Abu Bakr, the Ansars, and the Ahl al-Ridda (Apostates), the parties of

²⁵ See Tabari I, pp. 3256, 3329, 3341, 3353, 3381.

²⁶ Cf., for example, Tabari II, p. 1 ff.

'Ali, of Talḥa and al-Zubayr, and of Mu'awiya, the so-called Mu'tazilites of 'Ali's reign, the Kharijites, and the Murji'ites, are all put into the same category on the ground that they all have a common characteristic—namely, some relation to the question of the Caliphate. And only once in al-Naubakhti do we catch a glimpse of what kind of a relation it may have been, and that is his reference to the reason given by the Kharijites for their rejection of 'Ali's Caliphate.

The motives of the various parties may have been political, economic, social, or religious, or some of these, or all of them together. There is little enough evidence on which to base an opinion one way or the other, and a general scepticism about the influence of social or religious ideas on the origin and development of most of the parties named is probably justified. The originating and determining motives for the formation of the majority of them were political. But are there exceptions?

The nature of Islam has already been discussed, and it will be obvious from that discussion that the Caliphate had a religious as well as a political significance. The most striking evidence for this is the judgment of Muslim historical tradition on the character of the Umayyad dynasty and its condemnation of it as inimical to religion, although, as Goldziher has pointed out, the Umayyads were not irreligious according to the standards of their times.²⁷ It is possible, therefore, that the relation of some of these early Muslim parties to the Caliphate question may have been inspired by distinctively religious motives and ideas, from a milieu saturated with a religious rather than a political and partisan spirit.

A distinction must be drawn, however, between the first appearance of ideas within the Muslim community and the rise of sects embodying these ideas. The essential Shi'ite doctrines, for example—belief in the hereditary nature of the Imamate or headship of Islam and faith in the prophetic and messianic character of the Imam—are found in Muslim circles very early, apparently among contemporaries of the Caliph 'Ali and certainly in the following generation.²⁸ 'Abdullah b. Saba, a contemporary of 'Ali, is said to have based 'Ali's right to the Caliphate on the fact that he was a member of the prophetic family and also to have believed in the

²⁷ *Vorlesungen*, pp. 49 and 83.

²⁸ See I. Friedlaender, *The Heterodoxies of the Shi'ites*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 29, p. 33 ff.

"Return," or Parousia, of Muhammed,²⁹ another distinctively Shi'ite doctrine, but generally associated with 'Ali, or his son, Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafīyah. These ideas form the substance of the belief of the Kaisanite sect, which was the heart and core of the Shi'ite rebellion in Kufa under Mukhtar in the days of 'Abd al-Malik and his rival Caliph 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr in the nineties of the seventh century.³⁰

Such ideas were in the air at the time. They are embodied not only in the verses of Shi'ite poets such as al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī and Kuthayyir,³¹ but also, as Goldziher has indicated, in the panegyrics in praise of the Umayyads sung by such typical Arab bravoës as Jarir and Farazdaq.³² The latter salutes 'Abd al-Malik as the Imam, who has been given the gift of prophecy.³³ Of Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik he says that "If the prophets, the possessors of wisdom, had lived at the same time as he, they would have recognized in him the lord, to whom belonged the royal power."³⁴ Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik is the shepherd of God, on whom the beginning and end of every event depend.³⁵ Sulayman is the Mahdi, who has burst asunder the chains of calamity, and the guide toward the goal.³⁶ Hisham is the light which guides every rightly guided one to the true guidance.³⁷ 'Uthman's blood is holy blood.³⁸

We may doubt with Goldziher that Farazdaq or Jarir really meant what their words seem to convey. Their verses, however, are still evidence of the prevalence of these ideas in their time, and probably also of a convinced belief in them in some Muslim circles. The question is, what was the composition of such circles?

Al-Naubakhti informs us that after 'Ali's death his followers went over to Mu'awiya and joined his party, "except a few and those who believed that he should have succeeded the prophet as Imam." The only construction that can be put upon his statement

²⁹ See Friedlaender and cf. Ṭabari I, p. 2941.

³⁰ Cf. Friedlaender, p. 34; Ṭabari II, p. 651; Wellhausen's *Oppositionsparteien*, p. 89, note.

³¹ Cf. the *Kitab al-Aghani* VII, 4 and VIII, 32.

³² *Vorlesungen*, p. 267, 12. 1.

³³ R. Boucher, *Diwan de Fārazdaq* (Paris, 1870-75), No. CCXXIV, text, p. 208, 4 ff., esp. 11. 15 and 16; trans. p. 624, last ff.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, CXCIV, text, p. 184, 14; trans. p. 552, 21.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, CCXXVIII, text, p. 219, 8-11; trans. p. 653, 14 ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, text, p. 14, 12; 16, 15; trans. 29, 16; 32, 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, CXCVI, text p. 186, 1; trans. p. 557, 12.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XCII, text p. 108, 8; trans. p. 287, 3.

is that the great majority of 'Ali's political partisans deserted his family's cause. It is probable, indeed, that they had never subscribed to that cause, nor even heard of it. Their loyalty to 'Ali was a personal relationship, which ended with his death in true Arab fashion. The cause of his family lived on, if anywhere, in a narrow circle inspired by the belief in his just claim to the Imamate in succession to the prophet, and in the hearts of a few political partisans.

The history of the so-called Shi'ite rebellions in Iraq in the days of Mu'awiya, Yazid I and 'Abd al-Malik, bear out the general statement of al-Naubakhti. In the reign of Mu'awiya, Ḥujr b. 'Adi, a chief of Kinda, rebelled in Kufa, and all the tribes of Iraq seem to have been represented in his army.³⁹ Wellhausen's judgment, that it was an Arab tribal movement directed against Syrian overlordship, is probably correct.⁴⁰ Ḥujr was deserted by his kinsmen, a fate that befell most Iraqi rebels, and put to death. He is claimed as the first Shi'ite martyr,⁴¹ but this interpretation of his death is in all likelihood a product of Shi'ite martyrology.

In the reign of Yazid I the second son of 'Ali, Ḥusayn, was invited by some of the leading men of Kufa to come and lead them against the Syrians. The plot was discovered, however, before he had left Mecca, and the Kufans confounded and overawed by a change of governor and the stern measures adopted by the new emir. And when finally Ḥusayn came, they remained pusillanimously passive and left him to his fate.⁴²

After Ḥusayn's death a companion of the Prophet, Sulayman b. Šurad, rose in rebellion. His followers were Arabs, but only four thousand rallied to his banner, where sixteen thousand had been expected. They marched to Kerbela and wept over the grave of Ḥusayn one whole day, then proceeded to Resaina, where they were met and defeated by two Syrian corps. The Baṣrians and Medinans came up too late. They wept together and went their ways.⁴³

These revolts were Arab, not only in complement but also in

³⁹ Cf. Tabari II, pp. 111-136.

⁴⁰ *Oppositionsparteien*, p. 60.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 60. Cf. K. al-Aghani, vol. XVI, pp. 3-4; ibn al-Athir, vol. III, 392 ff.

⁴² Tabari II, pp. 227 ff.; Kerbela, p. 271.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 497 ff., and 598 ff. Wellhausen thinks that the motive of the rising was revenge for Husayn, a real Arab motive (*Oppositionsparteien*, 72).

motive and character—partisan rebellions inspired by tribal and local jealousy and exhibiting the old Arab practice of warriors devoting themselves at the grave of a tribal hero.⁴⁴ The rising led by al-Mukhtar b. Abi 'Ubayd in the days of 'Abd al-Malik presents a very different picture.⁴⁵

Mukhtar claimed to be the authoritative representative and agent of 'Ali's son, Muḥammed b. al-Ḥanafīyyah, whom he proclaimed to be the Mahdi (Messiah).⁴⁶ He took Kufa and for a short period he controlled it and the district around it, supported by a clever and powerful Madhhij chief, Ibrahim b. al-Ashtar. Many clients (non-Arabs) flocked to his standard, and their chief was Kaisan, after whom the Kaisanite sect of the Shi'ites is probably named. Mukhtar's favourable attitude towards the clients and his grants to them of pay and a share of the booty seem to have annoyed and angered his Arab supporters.⁴⁷ They deserted him. Even Ibrahim b. al-Ashtar made his peace finally with 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr, and Mukhtar fell fighting, another victim of Arab particularism.

In his rebellion, however, is to be observed for the first time the use of peculiar Shi'ite doctrines as propaganda material. Muḥammed b. al-Ḥanafīyyah is the Mahdi, and 'Ali appears to have been deified. For the first time also, the clients (non-Arabs) take an important part in a Muslim movement, and among them the first real Shi'ite sect seems to have had its origin. These were the Kaisanites, some of whom refused to believe in the death of Muḥammed b. al-Ḥanafīyyah and held that he lay hidden in the mountains of Raḍwa, whence he would return to this world.⁴⁸

Friedlaender has pointed out the Shi'ite tendency to pattern the image of the Mahdi after that of Jesus and the biography of 'Ali after that of Joshua, the helpmate and successor of Moses.⁴⁹ He has also shown that the Shi'ite doctrines of the Mahdi and his

⁴⁴ The Kharijite sect, the Ṣufriyya, never rebelled without first cutting their hair at the grave of their old leader, Ṣaliḥ; Cf. Ṭabari II, p. 1147, 6 ff.; ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 209.

⁴⁵ Ṭabari II, 509 ff., 595 ff.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 534.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 650.

⁴⁸ Cf. Friedlaender as cited, p. 23. Cf. Boucher's *Diwan de Fērāzdaḳ*, no. CXXIV, p. 631, 3 ff; also CXLVII, p. 427-6.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 36 and 46.

"Return" are rooted in the Jewish-Christian complex of the messianic idea and Christian docetism.⁵⁰ He might have added to these the Pseudo-Clementinian idea of the True Prophet who appears at intervals in history.⁵¹ The provenance of such notions is quite obvious and the character and composition of the Muslim circles, to whom first they gave life and substance, can be inferred with some degree of probability from the data at our command.

In these circles the Shi'ite sect probably had its origin in the days of 'Abd al-Malik, and it is a mistake to look for any close connection between the political party of 'Ali and the sectaries, who, in the words of a Kharijite preacher,⁵² "place their faith in an Arab family and hold that their client-relation to their patrons raises them above and beyond good works and saves them from the punishment of their misdeeds." Even the few who remained faithful to 'Ali had probably no stomach for such ideas.

The relation of the Kharijites to the Caliphate question is simple. They rejected 'Ali, because he submitted the issue between himself and Mu'awiya to the judgment of man instead of to God, by agreeing to the appointment of two arbitrators to settle the matter; they rejected the Umayyads because they were sinners and rebels against a duly constituted authority. They also repudiated many of their own chosen leaders for the same reasons.

They may have been Beduins, as Brunnow suggests,⁵³ or Ahl al-Ridda, the rebellious tribes of Abu Bakr's days, as Wellhausen maintains.⁵⁴ Their objection to the arbitration may have been, as Nallino says,⁵⁵ that the result of the arbitration was quite different from what they had expected and did not exonerate those who had been implicated in the murder of 'Uthman, and their appeal to the judgment of God, therefore, an excuse rather than a principle. The fact remains that that appeal was and still is the essence of the Kharijite faith.

Wellhausen says that the Kharijites stood determined for "Din" (religion) against the "Jama'ah," the agreement and unity of the

⁵⁰ Ibid. 23 ff.

⁵¹ Ibid. 34.

⁵² The Yemenite Abu Hamza. Cf. the *Kitab al-Aghani*, vol. 20, 107. Cf. also the letter of the Caliph Hisham, Tabari I, 1682, 5.

⁵³ R. E. Brünnow; *Die Charidschiten* (Leiden, 1884), p. 26.

⁵⁴ *Oppositionsparteien*, p. 9.

⁵⁵ *Rivista degli studi orientali* 7. 1 (1916) pp. 455-460.

Muslim community;⁵⁶ and to determine what "Din" meant for the Kharijites is to answer in some measure the question of their origin.

Al-Ash'ari tells us⁵⁷ that the Kharijites were not only unanimous in declaring the Caliph 'Ali to be an unbeliever because of his acceptance of arbitration, but were also of one mind, with the exception of the Najdiyya, on the point that to commit a mortal sin is unbelief. The history of the internal development of the sect consists of a series of excommunications pronounced by Kharijite upon Kharijite on the ground that a mortal error had been committed.⁵⁸

The conception of religion behind this dogma and these excommunications is plain. If the Kharijites had been Christians of the first century A.D. they would have been called Judaizers. Religion for them is obedience to a divinely revealed law. It is knowledge of that law and performance of every duty imposed by it. Every "obedience" (ṭa'a, "duty") is religion, and each and every duty is essential,—as essential as belief in God and his prophet. Some of the Kharijites modify in part this definitive dogma. It remains nevertheless the fount of Kharijite thought and action.

Kharijitism, therefore, is one of the purest examples of a revelation religion, and the influences that stamped Muslim minds to this religious mould should be apparent. Moreover an examination of the records of Kharijite revolts shows that the followers of the various Kharijite chiefs were not only Arabs, but in great measure also non-Arabs: freedmen, dyers, smiths, and ragamuffins, "slaves" as Muhallab b. Abi Šufra named them, Christians, and Persians.⁵⁹ The little band of Arab insurgents that faced 'Ali and his troops at Nahrawan, perished almost to a man,⁶⁰ and Kharijite ranks thereafter, except perhaps in Arabia, were filled with many a non-Arab. The Arabian risings were in the East and South, classical lands of Christian and Jewish influence.

[Kharijitism, therefore, reveals itself, even in its relation to the Caliphate question, as a movement inspired and shaped by a certain form of religious belief, the genesis of which must be sought pri-

⁵⁶ *Oppositionsparteien*, p. 14.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Die dogmatischen Lehren* etc. (ed. H. Ritter) Ia, p. 86 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf., for example, the history of the Najdiyya, *ibid.*, p. 89, 14 ff.

⁵⁹ Cf. my essay on *Kharijitism and the Kharijites* in The Macdonald Presentation Volume, Princeton University Press, 1933, p. 378.

⁶⁰ Ṭabari I, 3381.

marily in Jewish-influenced Muslim circles. That Jewish influences were strong in early Islam is attested by the Koran itself as well as by the Koran commentaries, the Sirah literature and the Traditions.⁶¹ Converted Jews contributed much to Islam in its formative period; and this may explain why the Kharijites were the first sect to take positive action and assume a definite form within the Muslim community. Even so, however, and notwithstanding the record of Kharijite rebellions previous to the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, the facts seem to point to his reign as the time in which the Kharijite sect arose in an enduring form and to the mixed population of Iraq as the first circle from which it drew its adherents.

The relation of the Murji'ites to the question of the Caliphate is not so clear. It is true that in general they supported the Umayyad dynasty, and some of the leading Murji'ites, such as al-Zuhri, may have done so, as Goldziher argues, in order to promote the unity of the Muslim community. On the other hand, Tabari tells of Murji'ites fighting in the ranks of the rebel, Yazid b. Muhallab⁶², and in the Caliphate of Hisham the Khurasanian Harith b. Suraj revolted, and he and his followers are called Murji'ites.⁶³

Van Vloten suggests that these Murji'ites opposed the Umayyads on the same principle as the earlier Murji'ites had, in Goldziher's opinion, supported them, namely that of Muslim unity.⁶⁴ The holy cause of unity justified Umayyad suppression of Alid pretenders and Kharijite rebels, but not Umayyad discrimination between Arabs and non-Arabs in matters of taxation and justice. Muslims were Muslims, whatever their race.

Unity here has, of course, two references. In the one case it is a political characteristic, and in the other a social and religious one. This fact seems to vindicate the judgment of Goldziher and van Vloten, that the interests of the Murji'ites were in the beginning

⁶¹ Cf. Torrey's *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1933) for a perhaps somewhat exaggerated picture of that influence. Cf. also W. Rudolf, *Die Abhängigkeit des Korans von Judentum u. Christentum*, 1922; Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams u. das Christentum*, 1926. Lammens has characterized Islam as the form which Judaism took in Arabia.

⁶² Tabari II, 1349 ff.

⁶³ Ibid., 1595.

⁶⁴ *Domination arabe*, pp. 31-32.

political and that their emphasis on social and religious questions was a later development.

Al-Naubakhti's statements⁶⁵ concerning the Murji'ites is interesting, however, for various reasons. After 'Ali's death Mu'awiya's party is declared to have been composed not only of his own followers, but also of the adherents of Talha and al-Zubayr and of the majority of 'Ali's partisans as well. It consisted, says al-Naubakhti, of the generality of Muslims and the masses. These were all called Murji'ites, because they were tolerant of their opponents and believed that all who prayed facing Mecca were believers, if only they confessed formally.

The Murji'ites here are simply the masses of Islam and not a sect at all. They are the vast majority of ordinary Muslims, who accepted a man's word as his bond and did not scrutinize his acts or motives too closely. They left that to God, whether for the sake of unity or peace or just out of indifference it would be difficult to determine. In some respects the picture fits the facts as we know them, and also the character of the Arabs. For the Arabs who emigrated from the peninsula probably conceived of religion, in true Arab fashion, as a sort of tribal unity. As Ibn Khaldun says, there is no religion without partisanship. But why, then, do all Muslim heresiographers include the Murji'ites among the sectarians?

The answer is probably to be found in the characterization of Murji'ite thought given in our Muslim authorities.⁶⁶ The chief problem of the Murji'ites, as of the Kharijites, is the relation of faith and works to the question of salvation. The Murji'ites, however, emphasize the place of faith almost to the exclusion of works. In its simplest form their position is that belief is knowledge and unbelief ignorance. Salvation depends upon knowledge of God, of his apostle and of revelation,—not upon confession or obedience or works. Some Murji'ite sects add one or other or all of these to knowledge, in their definition of faith or religion, but their position is explained by the fact that for them faith is a spiritual quality and indivisible, so that they concluded that he who has once sincerely believed on God, could never desert his faith by unbelief, nor be capable of committing a mortal sin. Knowledge was thus, in their minds, the source and origin of love, obedience and works.

⁶⁵ See above.

⁶⁶ Cf. al-Ash'ari, *Die dogmatischen Lehren* (ed. H. Ritter) etc., Ia, pp. 132-157.

The pattern of the Murji'ite type of religion is fairly obvious. If the Kharijites might be called Judaizers, the Murji'ites are Pauline Christians or even Gnostics. At least these two sects represent in Islam respectively the religion of law and the religion of faith and they go back to well-defined sources. In the case of the Murji'ites, however, it is difficult to say exactly in which Muslim circles the sect may have arisen. They never became, like the Shi'ites and Kharijites, a distinct communion or organization apart from the so-called orthodox party.⁶⁷ They seem rather to have formed the left wing of that party, distinguished by their tolerance and their definition of religion as Gnosis. The very temper and quality of their faith probably thwarted any efforts towards unity on their part and they remained an amorphous group of individuals, whose only bond was a certain spiritual cast of mind and character. Their position on works, moreover, was very comfortable and reassuring,—not only to the Umayyad dynasty, but also to the great majority of their fellow-Muslims, with whom they became merged and identified.

Becker,⁶⁸ however, has shown how Christian polemics and apologetics not only set the questions for the Muslim theologians of the eighth and ninth centuries, but also provided in a measure the answers. It seems probable that Christians and Jews also posed the questions raised by the early sects; what essentially is the nature of Islam, or faith, and who is, in fact, a Muslim? It is possible also that they gave the answers.

⁶⁷ See A. S. Halkin's *The Hashwiyya* in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 54, March, 1934, p. 13, note 6.

⁶⁸ *Christliche Polemic u. Islamische Dogmenbildung* (*Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie etc.*, vol. XXVI, p. 175 ff.).

DER BEGRIFF DES KLASSISCHEN IN DER RELIGIONS- WISSENSCHAFT

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Je größer der Umkreis der Erscheinungen wird, die sich dem Erforscher der Welt der Religionen erschließen, umso notwendiger wird es, Prinzipien der Ordnung, Gliederung und Bewertung zu finden, die es erlauben, die schier unendliche Fülle des Materials, das die vergleichende Religionskunde im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert erarbeitet hat, zu bewältigen. Selbstverständlich gibt es für die Wissenschaft nichts Unwissenswürdiges, die Religionswissenschaft hat darum grundsätzlich alles, was Religion heißt, in den Kreis ihrer Betrachtung zu ziehen und zu studieren. Weder Antipathie noch Gleichgültigkeit gegen einzelne Phänomene, einzelne zeitliche oder räumliche Abschnitte kann den Religionshistoriker davon befreien, seine Sonne über Gerechte *und* Ungerechte scheinen zu lassen. Gegenüber früheren Zeiten bedeutet das aber heute für den Theologen wie für den Religionsforscher eine nicht zu unterschätzende Schwierigkeit. Der Theologe, für den naturgemäß die eigene Religion den Beziehungspunkt und Maßstab für seine gesamte Arbeit darstellen wird, konnte sich in früherer Zeit begnügen, die der alttestamentlichen Religiosität und dem Christentum räumlich-zeitlich nächstverwandten Religionen zum Vergleich heranzuziehen, bis, schon am Ende des 19. und noch mehr seit der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert, die rapide fortschreitende Erforschung der Primitiven und vieler weiter abliegender mittlerer und höherer Kulturreligionen ihn vor eine notwendige aber offensichtlich ins Uferlose führende Aufgabe stellte. Ein Teil der Theologen der sog. religionsgeschichtlichen Schule reagierte darauf, indem sie wahllos aus sämtlichen erreichbaren höheren oder primitiven Religionen, die zufällig sich anbietenden "Parallelen" aufgriffen und so ihre Kommentar-Werke zu Gegenstücken zu manchen sehr reichhaltigen, aber nicht sehr wohlgeordneten "Völkerkunde-Museen" machten. Die Religionswissenschaft aber, die nicht an spezifisch theologischen Gesichtspunkten orientiert war, konnte mit der Zeit nicht umhin, sich

nach systematischen Prinzipien umzusehen, die ihr die Fülle der Gesichte zu ordnen und zu bändigen erlauben sollten. Eine Weile zehrte man dafür von dem Gedankengut, das den großen religionsphilosophischen Entwürfen des deutschen Idealismus (Schelling, Hegel) zu Grunde gelegen hatte, und konstruierte, zuletzt recht epigonal, in diesem Sinne Entwicklungsschemata, in denen der Maßstab des zu seinem Wesenserkenntnis vorwärtsschreitenden Geistes oder des sich vervollkommenden ethischen Bewußtseins (beide vielfach recht naive Verabsolutierungen einer bestimmten Geisteshaltung, der zeitlich oder regional der Betrachter eben angehörte) angelegt wurde. Einen der letzten größeren Versuche dieser Art stellt die einflußreiche Völkerpsychologie W. Wundts dar. Aber wir glauben heute weder an solche eingleisige Entwicklungsschemata mehr, noch an die Möglichkeit, die Fülle religiöser Erscheinungen aller Zeiten und Völker in irgendeinem von ihnen unterzubringen. Es ist interessant zu sehen, daß in dem neuesten Entwurf einer religionswissenschaftlichen-Systematik, in G. van der Leeuws "Phänomenologie der Religion"—wie übrigens auch schon in R. Ottos bekannter Analyse des "Heiligen"—darauf überhaupt verzichtet und die Anlage der Darstellung ganz an einzelnen Strukturelementen der geschichtlichen Religion orientiert wird. Das ist gut so, wenngleich mir noch nicht genügend Konsequenz und methodische Klarheit über den künftig von der Religionswissenschaft einzuschlagenden Weg vorzuherrschen scheint. Diese wird die Scylla eines prinzipienlosen Historismus ebenso wie die Kurzschlüsse der Verabsolutierung irgendeines theologischen, philosophischen oder normativen "Standpunkts" zu vermeiden haben. Nach welchen Gesichtspunkten wird sie nun ordnen, wählen, darstellen? Es wurde schon betont, daß für die *Forschung* als solche grundsätzlich alles wichtig ist, wie klein auch der Prozentsatz dessen sein mag, was den Theologen oder Systematiker dann wirklich interessieren kann und wird. Das kann aber sehr wohl etwas scheinbar weit Abliegendes sein: so mögen uns für das Verständnis bestimmter Typen des alttestamentlichen Gottesmannes geographisch weitabliegende Erscheinungen bei primitiven Völkern etwas mehr Aufschluß gewähren als die verwandten Religionen. Sowohl der alt- wie der neutestamentliche Forscher wird niemals hinter das von der religionsgeschichtlichen Schule Erarbeitete zurückgehen können.

Mag nun für die Forschung als solche alles wissenswert und wichtig sein, was Ausdruck religiösen Lebens ist, welchem Land

und welcher Zeit es auch angehören mag, nicht nur für die Darstellung und Darbietung des Stoffes, sondern bereits für seine Bearbeitung und Bewertung werden sich *Kriterien* notwendig machen, die ihn gliedern helfen. Das quantitative Prinzip gibt eine gewisse Regulative: die sog. Weltreligionen sind wichtiger als andere minder verbreitete, einfach, weil sie mehr Anhänger zählen. Das rechtfertigt eine eingehendere Behandlung ihrer Geschichte, eine stärkere Heranziehung ihrer Lehre. Die Religionen "größerer" Völker scheinen mehr Anspruch auf Beachtung und Studium zu haben als die der kleineren Gruppen und Staaten. Aber dieses äußerliche Prinzip, das allenfalls vom rein historischen Standpunkt aus ein gewisses Recht hat, ist unzulänglich. Für die profane Historie hat kein Geringerer als Ed. Meyer das Kriterium der "Wirkung" zum Maßstab für die Bedeutung machen wollen, für die Religionsgeschichte kann die Durchsetzung aber nicht der ausschlaggebende Maßstab sein. Wichtig ist für den Religionshistoriker eine Persönlichkeit, eine Bewegung, eine Institution oder ein Brauch, eine Lehre oder ein Kult, nicht nur oder nicht einmal in erster Linie, weil sie weitverbreitet war, sondern weil in ihr eine spezifische, eine *charakteristische* Form von Frömmigkeit zum Ausdruck kommt. Muhammed, Zarathustra, Mani, der Buddha, der Jina, sind, trotzdem sie alle "Religionsstifter" sind, höchst verschiedene Gestalten. Sie stehen, jeder, für eine bestimmte religiöse Idee, die sich in ihnen gleichsam verkörpert. Die verstehende Religionswissenschaft interessiert sich für das, was im persönlichen Frömmigkeitsleben, in Lehre, Kult, Gemeinschaft charakteristisch ist. Sie will sowohl dem Individuellen, wie dem Typischen in der Ausprägung des Heilsgedankens, des Opfers, des Priestertums hier und dort gerecht werden. Nun ist aber auch der Begriff des Charakteristischen, den übrigens der große Religionskenner Herder schon zu betonen liebte, noch nicht genügend, noch zu "historisch," um als Ordnungs- und Gliederungsprinzip dienen zu können. Denn sicher ist der Mana-Glaube ein Charakteristikum sogut wie aller primitiven Religionen, die Konzeption des "Orenda" bringt die charakteristisch irokesische Gottesvorstellung zum Ausdruck "Wakanda" die der Sioux, usw. Wir wollen und können aber nicht *alle* Ausformungen dieser Idee in diesem oder jenem Bereich (Naturvölker überhaupt, amerikanische, afrikanische, australische Religionen usw.) heranziehen und durchleuchten. Oder ein anderes Beispiel: charakteristisch für den Mahayana-Buddhismus ist der

Bodhisattva-Glauben. Die Zahl der Bodhisattva ist ungeheuer groß; dabei wächst aber unser Wissen oder besser: Verstehen durchaus nicht progressiv mit der Erschließung immer neuer und neuer Varianten. Gewiß ist immer die Chance gegeben, daß eine solche uns einen noch nicht bekannten oder nicht genügend berücksichtigten Einzelzug erschließe, aber das würde keine grundsätzliche Neuerung bedeuten, so charakteristisch es für die individuelle Erscheinung auch sein möge. Es darf nicht dem Zufall überlassen bleiben, welche Erscheinungen zur Erleuchtung bestimmter Züge der eigenen Religion oder zur Einführung in die Phänomenologie der Religion überhaupt herangezogen werden.

Hier scheint mir nun der Begriff des *Klassischen* weiterzuführen, von dem, wie ich glaube, die Religionswissenschaft stärker und bewußter Gebrauch machen sollte, als sie es heute tut. In ihm ist gegenüber dem Charakteristischen, das deskriptiv gemeint ist, eine Norm gegeben, aber diese ist relativ und bedeutet keine Vergewaltigung andersartiger Erscheinungen von einem heterogenen Standpunkt aus. Aus der großen Fülle der religiösen Führer der Menschheit etwa heben sich einzelne Gestalten als klassische Stifterpersönlichkeiten heraus; aus der Zahl der Vegetationsgottheiten, die wir aus verschiedenen Religionen Vorderasiens kennen, können einige den Anspruch erheben, als klassisch zu gelten; die schier unendliche Zahl der Mystiker aller Zeiten und Völker verringert sich, wenn es sich darum handelt, einige "Klassiker" herauszustellen; es gibt klassische Ausprägungen und Gestaltungen des Priestertums, wie es klassische Formen von Opfer und Gebet gibt.

Was meint nun in all diesen Fällen "klassisch?" Negativ gesagt, meint es nicht: die zufällig uns bekannten, die uns besonders ähnlichen oder entsprechenden oder die auffallendsten unter den Erscheinungen, aus deren Fülle sie sich als klassisch herausheben. "Klassisch" meint zunächst repräsentativ. Die betreffenden Gestaltungen und Formen des religiösen Lebens repräsentieren etwas Typisches, etwas, das mehr aussagt und ausdrückt als ein Individuelles, "mehr" hinsichtlich des religiösen Lebens, für das es zeugt. Wenn Meister Eckhardt, Al Ghazzali und Shankara als klassische Mystiker gelten dürfen, so deswegen, weil in ihrer spezifischen Frömmigkeit etwas "typisch Mystisches" sich darstellt. Der Begriff des Klassischen drückt aber nicht nur das Repräsentative aus, sondern schließt etwas Normatives ein. Aus der Fülle des geschichtlich Hervorgetretenen werden einzelne Erscheinungen und

Gestaltungen herausgehoben, die erleuchtend, erhebend, erzieherisch wirken und so, wenn auch indirekt, unser eigenes religiöses Leben zu beeinflussen imstande sind. Das ist allerdings in einem sehr weiten Sinne zu verstehen. Dass wir aus der Beschäftigung mit "Nachbargebieten," wie Gnosis, Mysterienkulten, Spätjudentum, bzw. wichtigen Erscheinungen aus diesen Gebieten, sehr viel für die Exegese des N. T. lernen können, und daß es dem Ausleger leichter wird, eine Gestalt wie Simon Magus, einen Ritus wie die Taufe und eine Haltung wie die Jesu zum Sabbath verständlich zu machen—und wenn auch aus dem Gegensatz—wird von vielen zugegeben werden. Zeugnisse der muhammedanischen, persischen, hinduistischen und buddhistischen Frömmigkeit werden uns für die Exegese des Alten und Neuen Testaments scheinbar nicht sehr viel bieten können. Trotzdem ist die Bedeutung der klassischen Urkunden fremder Religionen ganz allgemein eine gewaltige, und es wäre ein verhängnisvoller Fehler, wenn der christliche Theologe, der Philosoph, oder auch nur der interessierte Laie sie übersehen und übergehen wollte. Ich möchte den interessierten Laien in diesem Zusammenhang ausdrücklich nennen, um dem heute noch verbreiteten Vorurteil entgegenzutreten, daß der "gebildete Laie," wie auf allen Gebieten, so auch von—möglichst allen—fremden Religionen etwas verstehen sollte. Das würde eine falsche Universalität herbeiführen, wie sie vielfach heute in manchen unserer Museen und, was schlimmer ist, in unseren modernen Schulen gepflegt wird. Einer der schärfsten Kritiker der Kultur des 19. Jahrhunderts, Nietzsche, hat in einer berühmten Abhandlung über den "Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben" das wahllos Häufende einer mißverstandenen "Bildung" bekämpft. Die ungeheure Gefahr *unterschiedsloser* Einbeziehung fernster und fremdster Erscheinungen in unser Wissen liegt in der Bedrohung dessen, was Nietzsche die "plastische Kraft" nannte. Im Bereich des religiösen Lebens ist diese Kraft in der neueren Zeit, zu allermeist aber im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts, der furchtbarsten Gefährdung ausgesetzt gewesen, und sie ist es heute noch. Eine Beschäftigung mit allgemeiner Religionsgeschichte scheint fast notwendig zu einem uferlosen und hoffnungslosen Relativismus, ja Skeptizismus führen zu müssen. Diese Überzeugung leitet Wasser auf die Mühlen derer, die glauben, in den Zustand "vor dem Fall" sich und andere zurückversetzen zu können und die Beschäftigung mit anderen als der eigenen Religion als überflüssig und schädlich völlig zu verwerfen.

Der Einfluß der fremden Religionen auf unser eigenes Leben nun, von dem ich oben sprach, und den ich in einem weiteren Sinne verstanden wissen wollte, muß durch ein Filter gehen. Nicht *alles*, was wir an Erscheinungen, Bildungen und Einrichtungen fremder Religionen kennenlernen, kann—und soll—für uns wesentlich und darum bedeutungsvoll sein. In der Religionswissenschaft werden wir, so gut wie in anderen Disziplinen, den pädagogischen Gesichtspunkt stark hervorhebend, sehr bald einen stärkeren Unterschied zwischen dem *Interessanten* und dem *Wichtigen* machen müssen. Interessant ist jede Erscheinung, und darum der Beachtung, der Erforschung und Einordnung wert. Die Universalität des Verstehens wird von unserer, wie von der gesamten Wissenschaft, niemals aufgegeben werden können. Aber die Erhaltung und Pflege der *Kräfte*, von denen oben die Rede war, und die in der Fülle dessen, was das historische Zeitalter über uns gebracht hat, erlahmen könnten, erheischt gebieterisch die Besinnung auf das Wesentliche und Notwendige, erheischt Konzentration.

Wir sind heute in der Religionswissenschaft in gewisser Weise in derselben Lage wie die Altertumswissenschaft, die nach der gewaltigen Erweiterung ihres Stoffes im vergangenen Jahrhundert zunächst die ihr eigentümliche humanistische Konzeption des 5. Jahrhunderts als des Klassischen aufgab, sich aber jetzt wieder stärker auf Normbegriff besinnt. (Vgl. Das Problem des Klassischen und die Antike. Acht Vorträge her. von W. Jaeger 1931.) Wir, die wir die Fülle der Gestalten und Formen der außerchristlichen Religionswelt kennengelernt haben, haben jetzt wieder ein neues Gefühl für die spezifische Qualität, den Wert und die Bedeutung der klassischen Erscheinungen in der Religionsgeschichte. Das Pathos der Freude an der Relativierung der alt- und neutestamentlichen Persönlichkeiten in das Niveau der allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte, das seinerseits das Pathos der Verteidigung ihrer absoluten Bedeutung und Unvergleichbarkeit abgelöst hat, soll ein anderes ersetzen, das, im Gegensatz zu dem letzteren, um die Mannigfaltigkeit des geschichtlichen Lebens der Religion auf Grund umfassender Studien seiner Gestaltungen weiß, diese Mannigfaltigkeit aber im Gegensatz zur erstgenannten Auffassung nicht verabsolutiert, sondern mit dem Mut zur *Positivität* auf die *Erfassung und Darstellung des Klassischen in der Religionsgeschichte* gerichtet ist.

Die Erzväter und die großen Prophetengestalten Israels, um ein Beispiel aus dem Bereich der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft zu

wählen, stehen, seit eine subtile und eindringende Forschung ihre Umwelt erleuchtet und sich um Vergleiche und Parallelen bemüht hat, von denen vorangegangene Geschlechter keine Ahnung haben konnten, in einer Art von neuer Monumentalität da, die für den Modernen gewissermaßen zur Theodizee der geschichtlichen Entwicklung wird. Nicht nur infolge der Beschränkung und dem starren Festhalten am Hergebrachten auf Seiten all der Generationen, die sie liebten und sich an ihnen erbauten, haben diese Führergestalten im Laufe der Jahrhunderte die ehrwürdige Patina angenommen, die heute von Manchen nur als Staub und Moder angesehen wird. Was diese Erscheinungen zu klassischen—nicht nur im Bereich des Biblischen, sondern der *gesamten* Religionswelt—macht, scheint zweierlei: einmal die Tiefe und GröÙe der religiösen Empfindung, die sie zum Ausdruck bringen, also etwas Inhaltliches, und dann die Form, in der es geschieht. Abraham, Josef, Mose, Amos, Jesaja, Hiob—diese Namen bezeichnen Gestalten, die durch die Fülle dessen, was wir über Zusammenhänge wissen, in denen sie stehen, nicht kleiner, sondern größer werden: klassische Gestalten. Es ist eine wichtige Aufgabe—die didaktische—der alttestamentlichen Theologie und Exegese diese GröÙe sichtbar zu machen. Aber nicht nur Personen, auch Vorgänge und Einrichtungen, von denen uns die Schriften des A. T. berichten, besitzen eine solche klassische Bedeutung. Das bedeutet nicht, das sie unter allen Umständen positiv zu werten sind; es ist bekannt, wieviele unter gewandelter und geläuterter sittlicher Anschauung fragwürdig, ja sogar verwerflich erscheinen muß, aber die Stärke und Intensität der religiösen Erfahrung von Gottesnähe und Gottesferne erweitert nicht nur, sondern vertieft immer wieder unser eigenes Wissen um Gott, Welt und Mensch.

Wie steht es nun mit der *Erfassung* des Klassischen, wie hat man sich die Auswahl des Wesentlichen, die Gewinnung der Leuchtpunkte aus der dunklen Fülle des Materials vorzustellen? Wir können hier nicht ausführlicher auf die erkenntnistheoretische Problematik eingehen; nur soviel: es wäre grundverkehrt hier rein abstrahierend vorzugehen und etwa aus einer möglichst grossen Menge empirischen Details das Entscheidende durch Abstriche und Reduktionen finden zu wollen. Das Phänomen wird oft an einem einzelnen "Exemplar" aufleuchten und deutlicher hervortreten als wenn wir suchen, es durch Prüfung vieler anderer ausfindig zu machen. Das schliesst nicht aus, dass die unmittelbare Erfas-

sung in und aus der Einzelercheinung durch Vergleichen zu prüfen und zu berichtigen ist. Der "Johannes" etwa des vierten Evangeliums mag uns die klassische Gestalt des "Jüngers" vor Augen führen,—wir werden nicht umsonst unser Wissen darum, was ein Jünger ist, bereichern und vertiefen, wenn wir den Ananda, des Buddha Lieblingsjünger, aus den alten Texten des Tipitaka daneben halten. Im Grunde ist es, wie die erkenntnistheoretische Erörterung der Probleme der Logik der Geisteswissenschaften, immer wieder erkennen lasst, ein Wechselspiel, in dem das Eine durch die Folie, auf der es aufleuchtet, deutlicher werd, indess die klassische Gestaltung ihrerseits einen Massstab für die Erfassung und Bewertung der ihr verwandten Manigfaltigkeit bietet. Dabei ist eine besonders wichtige Frage, die aber hier natürlich erst recht nicht breiter erörtert werden kann, die, wieweit wir mit einem "Vorwissen" um das Wesen geistiger Phänomene rechnen können, bzw. wieweit dieses trägt. *Wissen* wir nicht darum, was ein "Engel", was "Opfer" ist, ehe wir darum "erfahren?"

Wie dem auch sei, aus der Fülle des religionsgeschichtlichen Materials treten bestimmte Erscheinungen, klassische Gestalten, Erscheinen und Einrichtungen hervor. Knüpfen wir noch einmal an das oben zitierte Beispiel aus dem neutestamentlichen Umkreis an: die Jüngerschaft. Aufs eindrucklichste stehen sie vor unsern Augen, die Jünger Jesu. Niemand wird leugnen, das sie klassische Verkörperungen höchst individuell bestimmter Haltungen sind, Petrus und Johannes, Thomas und Judas, Paulus. Man hat von einer paulinischen und einer johanneischen Frömmigkeit gesprochen und durch die Geistesgeschichte des christlichen Abendlandes hindurch lassen sich Vertreter der beiden, in den klassischen Gestalten der beiden Jünger verkörperten Glaubenshaltungen aufweisen: Augustinus, Luther hier, Fichte und Schleiermacher dort. Unmöglich, alle die von der Kunst in ihrer Individualität und dem Typischen, das sie ausdrücken, immer wieder dargestellten Gestalten, die in näherer oder fernerer Beziehung zum Herrn stehen, mit seiner Vita an uns vorüberziehen zu lassen: sie bilden zusammen einen Kosmos klassischer Formen von, durch den Erlöser positiv oder negativ bestimmter Existenz.

Der Begriff des Klassischen soll nun aber ganz und gar nicht auf die *biblische* Welt im weiteren Sinne eingeschränkt sein, sondern im Gegenteil die *gesamte* uns bekannte religiöse Erscheinungswelt umfassen. Da ist z. B. die für die gesamte Religionsgeschichte so

erleuchtende Konzeption des Tabu, die klassisch in den polynesischen Religionen zum Ausdruck kommt. Wenn man sie dort studiert und kennengelernt hat, ist der Blick geschärft für all die verschiedenen Formen, in denen sie auftritt, und die Nachwirkungen in den höchsten Gestaltungen der Religiosität. Da ist die noch nicht in ihrer ganzen Bedeutung für die Religionskunde gewürdigte Erscheinung des Schamanismus, die klassisch in den Religionen Nordasiens zu beobachten ist, da ist die für bestimmte Ausprägungen des religiösen Lebens so bezeichnende Kultur der Meditation, die wir klassisch im Buddhismus und Taoismus studieren können, da ist die Lehre von den Engeln, die in der iranischen Religion klassisch zum Ausdruck kommt. Man hat ja in der Geschichte der Religionswissenschaft mehrfach den für eine bestimmte individuelle Erscheinung landesüblichen Ausdruck verallgemeinert und zu einer typologischen Kategorie erhoben: so die Begriffe Mana, Tabu, Totem. Das ist, wenn es mit den nötigen Vorbehalten geschieht, durchaus berechtigt und bereitet die Abgrenzung und Heraushebung klassischer Phänomene vor; es ist nur gefährlich, wenn es entweder mit der Intention erfolgt, eine individuelle Gestaltung auf andere zu reduzieren (es ist "nur" dies und das; "nichts anderes als"—), um sie dadurch zu deteriorieren, oder wenn unhistorisch dabei verfahren wird. Ich habe in meiner Kritik an Max Webers Religionssystematik (Einleitung in die Religionssoziologie 1930, Anhang) auf diese Schwierigkeiten aufmerksam gemacht. Man sieht, daß der Begriff des Klassischen elastisch gedacht ist, nicht einen, ein für alle Mal geschlossenen Kanon von Gestaltungen meinen kann, sondern *open* sein muß für den dauernden Zuwachs neu in das Blickfeld der geschichtlichen Forschung tretender und sich vor systematischer Prüfung ausweisender Phänomene. Damit wird auch der oben aufgestellten Forderung genügt, daß nicht alles, was von Ethnologie, Philologie und allgemeiner Religionsgeschichte neu erschlossen oder neu bekannt wird, wahllos in den notwendigerweise engeren Kreis des religionswissenschaftlich Bedeutsamen aufgenommen wird, andererseits ein starrer Inbegriff (etwa das Biblische als Maßstab) von vornherein eine Würdigung und Auswertung andersartiger Erscheinungen für die Kenntnis des Frömmigkeitslebens der Menschheit unmöglich macht. Selbstverständlich handelt es sich bei dieser Erörterung um ein methodologisches Problem der Religionswissenschaft; das heißt, daß das *theologische* Anliegen der *Wahrheitsfrage*

dadurch in keiner Weise berührt wird. Für welche religiöse Überzeugung ich mich glaubensmäßig entscheide, diese Frage wird ja überhaupt nicht im Umkreis religionsgeschichtlicher Arbeit entschieden. Selbstverständlich werden den christlichen Theologen andere unter den als klassisch anzusehenden Erscheinungen der Religionsgeschichte interessieren als den jüdischen oder muhammedanischen. Daß der christliche Theologe in unserm Herrn anderes und mehr sieht als eine klassische Gestalt der Religionsgeschichte, schließt nicht aus, daß er dem forschenden Angehörigen eines anderen Glaubens wiederum als eine solche erscheint.

Die letzte Erwägung legt es nahe zu fragen, wieweit der Begriff des Klassischen eigentlich "gebunden" (in diesem Sinn 'relativ') ist. Es ist ohne weiteres klar, daß er nicht in demselben Maße wie die Feststellung eines historischen oder philosophischen Datums weitestgehend unabhängig von der Subjektivität des Forschenden und Betrachtenden ist. Er ist als ein Ordnungsbegriff heuristischer Natur. Wir sahen, er erweitert sich und vor allem berichtigt sich mit der Zeit. Aber er ist keineswegs willkürlich. Es ist möglich auszumachen, daß objektiv diese oder jene Erscheinung klassische Bedeutung für den Religionsforscher hat, gleichgültig, welchem Jahrhundert oder welcher Nation er angehört. Wir sehen z. B., daß Persönlichkeiten, Erscheinungen und Einrichtungen an einer der Fremd-Religionen den Historikern, Geographen und Reisenden der Antike oder des Mittelalters bereits als repräsentativ, als wesentlich, ja, daß sie ihnen in der gleichen Weise als klassisch imponierten wie uns heute. Gerade der Begriff des Klassischen sollte dazu helfen, den Fanatikern des Subjektivismus von heute klarzumachen, daß hier durchaus nicht "alles fließt," sondern eine bewundernswerte Übereinstimmung im wohlbegründeten Urteil vieler Zeiten und Völker in der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis eine Tradition erarbeitet, die nicht dadurch bedeutungslos wird, daß einige ihre Existenz und ihren Wert leugnen. In dem Kampf, in dem die Religionswissenschaft, wie alle Wissenschaft überhaupt, heute steht, gilt es klar zu erkennen, daß gegenüber dem radikalen Pragmatismus, der vielerorten das Haupt erhebt, an dem Prinzip der Verbindlichkeit und damit einer *relativen Objektivität* (sein Wesen und seine Bedeutung habe ich in meiner Untersuchung über die Geschichte des Verstehensproblems im 19. Jahrhundert zu erhellen gesucht) festgehalten werden muß, wenn man einem anarchischen Pluralismus und Subjektivismus, in dem dann nicht

mehr von *der* Wissenschaft würde die Rede sein können, entgehen will, daß einem uferlosen und urteilslosen, dadurch sich selbst aufhebenden Positivismus gegenüber Wegzeiger, Akzente, Normen in der chaotischen Fülle des "Stoffes" sichtbar gemacht werden müssen, die der in sich berechtigten Erkenntnisarbeit erst den tieferen und weiterreichenden Wert verleiht, der ihr im Zusammenhang jeder wahren Kultur zukommt und der in seiner erzieherischen Wirkung sich erprobt.

REBUTTAL, A SUBMERGED MOTIVE IN THE GOSPELS

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It is too early to appraise the method called *Formgeschichte* by any productive results for New Testament studies. Thus far its exponents have been more concerned to define it and illustrate it than to use it continuously in a single undertaking. There is, for example, no gospel commentary yet published that claims to be a thoroughgoing product of this school. One suspects that without the labels or terminology very much of the new technique has long existed in intelligent New Testament criticism. Bacon's *Beginnings of the Gospel Story*, published in 1909, displays for example the same concern for motivation in the material, the same recognition of aetiological and theological origins, that are part of the newer school. One may further query whether the special emphasis on literary classification is really much of a key either to the form or to the history of the gospel sections to which it is applied, and further whether the notion of group influence holds any universal explanatory value when one conceives of the material as existing, to be sure, in the minds of many early Christians but of being transmitted from person to person under casual circumstances rather than through the more formal channels of catechetical instruction or of definite worship. Form Criticism is perhaps still in the stage of whetting and of admiring its tools, and therefore, to change the figure, "let not him that girdeth on his armor boast. . . ."

It often happens that the by-products of a movement are more significant than the products. In the present instance there is already evident a very fruitful perspective to the gospel material growing out of the approach of Form Criticism. This perspective is the impression of significant oral growth and change prior to the written records. The synoptic problem and the question of written sources has long occupied the center of historical study. The new approach is by no means a cancellation of or a substitute for these literary studies. The validity of earlier hypotheses of dependence of gospel on gospel or on smaller written sources may be questioned,

but not because of any alternative or corrective offered by *Formgeschichte*. The latter does not mark a return to the purely oral theory of gospel origins. It leaves the literary problem as it was, the problem that immediately precedes the actual completed gospels, so far as textual criticism allows us to speak of the gospel autographs as knowable entities. As the rise of source criticism left the tasks of textual criticism still quite necessary, so the rise of form criticism leaves the synoptic problem still a valid literary exercise. In both instances a newer discipline has simply raised a prior question, without supplanting or abolishing the older discipline. Form criticism carries the mind back to the stage before the written relationship, the stage "between Jesus and the Gospels," as I have elsewhere called it, and by staking out its claims in that field, by indicating its existence and formative importance, the new school of criticism has performed already a distinct service. Heretofore gospel study has operated too exclusively with the following limited concepts,—the historical Jesus, the written sources behind the gospels, the personalities and work of the evangelists. To indicate the reality, variety and richness of this other creative stage of oral tradition is thoroughly worth while, whether more tangible results can be attained or not.

The richness of the oral period accounts for example for the contradictory or contrasting viewpoints of the data. Hitherto many scholars have thought mainly of an editor and of his sources. Assuming that each was self-consistent they have supposed that irreconcilable factors in the gospels are due either to the use of two divergent accounts or to incomplete revision by the evangelist of somewhat uncongenial matter that lay before him. As in some pentateuchal criticism, the problem has been regarded mainly as one of distinctive strands. Form criticism suggests that the ultimate units behind our gospels are much smaller,—the single saying or section,—and it allows for very independent development of motive or interest in each unit. In this oral period the units have no common history and already take on divergent coloring. Even the single unit has been successively under the influence of several points of view, and what it has absorbed or rejected of each is already embodied in its oral form before ever an editor has a chance to frame it.

The variety of these influences can hardly be over-emphasized in contrast to the naïve view of the photographic accuracy and

impartiality of tradition. The same variety accounts for the extreme difficulty of achieving a consistent picture of gospel christology. In such a series of cross currents there is no assurance of finding any protected thoroughfare for one way traffic. It has often been supposed, for example, that tradition moved constantly in a certain direction. It has been supposed that step by step it idealized Jesus. Perhaps it usually did so, but what made him ideal in one respect might differ from the ideal in another. It has been supposed that tradition regularly enhanced the miraculous. No doubt that is often true. But another motive might quite unconsciously seem to bring about another effect. When, for example, we are told that Jesus could do no mighty work in Nazareth because of their unbelief, there is a motive at work, familiar in many stages of Christian history, to display the resistance to grace of the unbeliever: "He came to his own place, and his own people received him not." To be sure rejection and failure suggest a limitation of Jesus' power which another interest would have cancelled out as in fact Matthew does cancel Mark 6:5; but it is not thereby the more primitive. The same may be said of others of Schmiedel's famous "pillar passages." The verdict upon each may well be not of relative primitiveness but merely of a different predominant motive.

Similarly of Jesus' own attitude to his miracles. The modern sceptical mind finds so congenial the idea that Jesus belittled his supernatural deeds that we welcome evidence from the earliest sources that seems to support that thesis. He refused the requested sign or he prohibited publicity about the accomplished cure. Now a more realistic attitude towards the variegated tendencies of pre-evangelical tradition must give some pause to such a reading of the evidence. Perhaps we are wrong in assigning (with Wrede) to Mark a consistent tendency towards messianic secrecy, but we may be right in suspecting that non-original elements have colored the tradition which he embodies, so as to produce from more than one angle an impression of this kind. When the devils proclaim Jesus' identity as the Holy One of God and he silences them, the tradition is not doubting the identity, nor is it even troubled with the embarrassment of recognition from such a source. Still less is it concerned with any historical Jesus who wishes secrets held back temporarily, or of a church that has to explain why their present claims for him were not promulgated more emphatically earlier, in

his life time. Form criticism has helped clear our minds of any cherished hope of surviving chronology even in Mark, or of skilful editorial perspective that distinguished problems of Jesus' period from those of the author's age. Doubtless the episode with the demons is much simpler than that. It is a contest between two forces. The demons in knowing Jesus' identity are exultant in the power that knowing one's enemy's name gives one, and Jesus is triumphant in silencing and exorcising the demon. These are natural interests and sufficient in their time. On another occasion a Christian like Paul might find equal triumph for Jesus in his escaping detection from the rulers of this age as Lord of Glory through a humble incognito; the fourth evangelist might feel little taste or interest for this kind of episode; and even Mark may have moved beyond some aspects of the primitive material that he embodied.

No topic in Jesus' teaching was more liable to various influences than his teaching on the future. As ever in apocalyptic tradition, transient contemporary events would recast the content of this teaching, while the demand for proper moral emphasis would lead to quite contradictory results under different circumstances. No single rectilinear direction marks the course of eschatological thinking in primitive Christian tradition. To secure the urgency of a vivid hope, and to avoid the disillusionment and apathy of a hope disappointed, means an essentially varied body of material. It has often been assumed that tradition only enhanced apocalyptic, and that in our written documents beginning with Q and ending with John we can chart this tendency in a regularly ascending scale. Even of the written documents this is not true, and besides there is another tendency not quite opposite in effect—"not yet," "not immediately," this and that item in the program "must happen first." This cautionary note of delay is latent in all the synoptic gospels especially in Luke, as it is explicit in 2 Thessalonians. In the formative stages of tradition that the believers should not follow false Christs was of as much importance as that they should be ready for the true Christ at his *parousia*. In the balance of conflicting motifs there would be need of delicate adjustment: what our gospels give us in this matter is rather a series of previously unconnected samples of several moods.

It is in the light of this continuing change—active enough to have required many generations, though actually compressed into

one—that one can understand how earlier motifs in the tradition are at times completely submerged in the present form of the gospel. Just as in certain Old Testament stories,—the tower of Babel, the sons of God and the daughters of men, the encounter of God (an angel) with Jacob or Moses,—we feel sure that we have a torso of some older folk tale whose original theme is now to be only faintly guessed, so it may be that our gospels retain items whose original details remain to tantalize us with unguessed intentions of an earlier day. As the story of the sacrifice of Isaac may once have dealt not with faith and obedience but with the transfer from human to animal sacrifice, so the story of the baptism of Jesus may have had behind it several other interests than those now on the surface. I cannot doubt that at some stage before Christ became merely a surname, Christian doubt or unbeliever's criticism required literal evidence that Jesus the Anointed was literally anointed, as under other circumstances Jesus the son of God must be proved the literal son of God. Narrative evidence of more than one kind was produced. This motive lies behind the stories where a woman is the anointer, though neither writer nor reader need be aware of it. The requirements of the "Elias redivivus" expectation are met by assigning such an act to John the Baptist. A still higher source and a different but superior unction is implied in the descent of the Spirit. In one version—shared by all the evangelists—that occurred at precisely the same occasion. As the story stands the actual facts of John's historic rite, the custom of early Christian water baptism, the desire to cite the divine identification of Jesus, quite obscure any literal "messianic" value of the baptism story.

That the same evangelist can include more than one version of such anointings is not strange. The two accounts of the feeding of the multitude make a more obvious doublet. Here again a Christian practice has affected the manner of the telling, though only John the "antisacramentalist" associates the story with the eucharist. These variants are not mutually exclusive, but even if they had been they could easily have circulated side by side and could have been copied into a single gospel. Tradition and its editors are slightly concerned for consistency. This is true of the sayings of Jesus, apocalyptic or otherwise. But the most striking example is the fact that two evangelists quite independently make the same combination of a virgin birth which excludes the paternity of Joseph,

and of a family tree that requires his paternity. Here the literalizing of two Messiah concepts, "son of David" and "son of God," has run in each case its independent course to meet in an embarrassing encounter. Scribes and church fathers felt the difficulty, but their solutions are not real ones. Matthew probably feels no embarrassment. However Matthew 1:16 first read, the author has at best made but a lame reconciliation of descent from David through Joseph who unmistakably and emphatically did *not* beget Jesus. Luke's gospel, in which the virginity of Mary is not emphasized but is perhaps already a submerged motif of which slight debris appears in 1:34, hints at a reader's embarrassment by beginning the genealogy, "*being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph.*"

This section leads me to speak of a special type of submerged motif, and one that reveals the richness of the tradition. I refer to the controversial aspects behind it. Some controversy is still on the surface. Indeed the controversy with the Jews is extraordinarily vigorous in the synoptics, and one is naturally inclined to deduce from it an immediate and contemporary interest of the evangelists in defending Christian freedom over against Pharisaic rigor. Possibly it represents controversy with Judaizers within the church. It may be wiser to suppose that this note of opposition belongs historically to a slightly earlier period than to the evangelist's own era or even to the actual lifetime of Jesus. We have in the cross good evidence of a fatal disagreement between Jesus and the contemporary leaders of Judaism. We know little, and that little only from Paul, of Christian controversy with Jews in the period when our gospel material was circulating and being recorded. The almost exclusively Christological nature of the Jewish-Christian debates in John and in Justin Martyr shows us a later academic tendency in this field.

Behind the surface stories of controversy there are in our gospels some evidences of earlier stages, and in some cases we may trace with a good deal of probability not merely attack and defense but a whole series of steps, like the transcript of a continuous altercation. In Matthew's story of Joseph this is clear. Partly modesty but partly also the natural submergence of past issues has obscured without entirely obliterating the early suggestion of the unchastity of Mary and the illegitimacy of Jesus. Whether the Talmudic canard to this effect has survived underground from the first century, we need not determine. The Jewish charge of illegitimacy was

known to Celsus in the Second Century. It was an inevitable reaction to the first as to any later elaboration of the virginity motif. Whether the Christian or his opponent was the first to suggest Joseph's own doubt on this score, it too was an obvious thought. The Christian has of course the last word. He was sure that the later hostile doubt must have been met and answered at the time. When Joseph was minded to put away his wife, he was dissuaded by an explanatory dream messenger. The Protevangelium of James only carries the alternative of doubt and confirmation a little further.

I have called this an example of submerged motif. But I do not wish to assert that the debate it implies had actually taken place over a long period of years. It may have done so. One can imagine the slow spread of a doctrine without details of divine paternity for Jesus. To be sure our present versions do not stress or even plainly state this, but rather its corollary, the virginity of Mary. It has been questioned whether belief in divine intervention here ever took the form of a divine bridegroom for Mary. Then sinister voices of unbelievers would suggest a scandalous reply. By both parties explicit details would be brought to their assertions, and Matthew represents the stage of Christian rebuttal. This last is more likely to be contemporary or even original with him, but it implies I think the other stages as distinctly earlier.

The same kind of evidence appears in the genealogy in Matthew. Unfortunately we cannot say in general what its history has been. The balanced numerical arrangement shows artificiality and is compatible with the editorial interests of the evangelist himself, but it may also be earlier. The same uncertainty applies to the present inclusion in the pedigree of the names of four women. But there can be no doubt as to the reason for mentioning them. Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and Bathsheba are not supremely conspicuous or honored names in the history of Israel. Nor are they included by mere chance. They represent rather four instances of irregular not to say illegitimate ancestry which might easily be cast in the teeth of their descendants. But the Jews honored and revered the royal line that came from them. So no matter what evil construction one puts on the birth of Jesus these are a parallel that by analogy lessens the taint of obloquy. Matthew himself does not point to their meaning. The casual reader barely notes the absence of other women in the genealogy or recalls the reputation of these. In the

case of Ruth he assumes that her status was beyond reproach because of the attractive idyll of her that he reads. He forgets how in other Jewish circles her foreign marriage would brand her children as bastards almost as much as would adultery. But somewhere in the earlier transmission of the family tree it seemed worth while to defend the immediate ancestry of Jesus by the parallels of prior history. It was perhaps the miracle of God's ways to raise up the Messiah from parentage of such kinds. These four names and the dream of Joseph both deal with the slur on Jesus, but they deal with it somewhat differently. In neither case is it really mentioned but in both it is implied. It confirms our sense of variety in the tradition that the same submerged element is embodied in two different forms in the same context of a single gospel.

Still nearer to the surface is the motive in Matthew's story of the baptism:

John: I have need to be baptized of thee and comest thou to me?

Jesus: Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.

Whatever the original interest in the actual baptism of Jesus by John here another motive has run against it, and raised questions. The greater ought to baptize the less, the sinless ought to baptize the sinful. The thought of Matthew or his predecessors has faced the difficulty. That it was pressed by living partisans of the Baptist is not a necessary assumption, though it is an assumption that fits the usual hypothesis of anti-Johannine polemic which scholars read into Acts 18:24-19:7 and into parts of the Fourth Gospel. It is a doubt that might easily arise in a loyal Christian consciousness. That "it behooved Jesus to be made in all things like unto his brethren" was a conception difficult at some points for admirers to accept. The dialogue in Matthew may be merely the dramatization of an inner doubt and reassurance. "What! Jesus baptized by John with water? Yes, it was part of the humility of his career and of his example of voluntary conformity." In any case we have the sequence—statement, objection, rebuttal.

A longer series of exchanges characterizes the same evangelist's story of the guard at the tomb. All the stories of the resurrection involve a considerable interplay of ideas, which we may translate into dialogue, for example:

Jesus was the Messiah.

No, he cannot have been because he was hanged.

Yes, but though he died he rose from the dead.

That is incredible and we do not believe it.

The eyewitnesses with difficulty believed it, they were persuaded in spite of doubt.

Doubtless they saw a vision while Jesus himself remained in his grave.

But he did not remain in his grave, it was found empty.

If it was empty some one entered the tomb and removed the body.

No, the first visitors were women and they could not have removed the stone.

How then was the stone removed?

It must have been by miracle as the stone was very great.

But perhaps it was not the same grave, but a vacant one.

No, they found the grave clothes actually left there neatly in the grave and were told by angels that Jesus had risen.

Matthew's special version fits into such a series; it contains the following stages:

To guarantee the reality of Jesus' resurrection let me remind you that the grave was sealed and guarded.

But why would it be sealed and guarded?

Because the chief priests and Pharisees feared we would tell just such a story.

How then could Jesus have risen, without the guard's knowing it?

They all did know it, but were bribed to keep silent about it.

This may not be precisely the sequence, but something of this sort represents the component elements of the story as Matthew gives it. Each side tries to pass the lie, and of course in our gospels the last word is with the Christian apologist. Perhaps not every question was actually raised by an unbelieving opponent. The believer himself would see the difficulties and fortify his own conviction by arguing to himself what must have happened. But in any case tradition has transferred to the very days of passion and resurrection the afterthoughts of its own apologetic or polemic. The completed argument bears witness to the earlier stages of debate. The Gospel of Peter merely illustrates a partly independent elaboration, once the fictitious theme of the guarded tomb had been given.

The illustrations cited are from Matthew's gospel. It is perhaps the most naïve and obvious in its betrayal of earlier history. It embodies two very opposite views of Jesus' attitude towards Judaism and in its phrase, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets," it as much as admits that its pro-Jewish slant is a rebuttal of Jewish charges against Christianity. Evidently the suggestion has been made that Jesus intended to destroy the law, that the law would fall or pass away and that the gospel was from the first intended to be carried into the ways of the Gentiles or into the cities of the Samaritans. If here as in the

baptism scene, Matthew counters with his favorite word fulfill, we simply learn that he has found in the analogy of prophecy a superficial formula of reconciliation that suffices his own naïveté.

The undertones of earlier debate may be less obvious in the gospels of Mark and Luke, but the debate had existed none the less. In John we are more at sea. The existence of his predecessors alone enables us to check off as rebuttal: "John was not yet cast into prison," or, "bearing the cross for himself." This evangelist has eliminated rather than apologized for a baptism of Jesus the greater by John the less, but in another context entirely that Jesus should baptize as John has done appears to the Fourth Evangelist too undignified and competitive for Jesus. If one must make comparisons in this field Jesus was doubtless the more successful, though the actual menial rite was performed by Jesus' own disciples, not by their master. In John's gospel the recovery of earlier traditional motifs is however obscured by the use of irony, and by his love of indirection and allusion. He leaves unanswered such objections as that Jesus comes from Galilee—the source of no good thing—that the true Messiah is to come from Bethlehem. These personal habits and in general the undetermined balance of fresh fiction against inherited tradition makes uncertain the application to the gospel of the tests which elsewhere serve to indicate the richly varied character of the impersonal oral tradition behind the personal editors.

For the purpose of this paper there is no need of more illustrations or of more definite recovery of the exact history. What has been said suffices to indicate the "geologic" history of the gospel tradition. Submerged layers of uncertain order and chronology have left their tell-tale marks on the resultant surface of our written gospels. Action and reaction, spontaneous within the resourceful Christian consciousness, or stimulated by the doubter and scorner, are not to be judged by the relatively few years that we postulate for oral transmission, but by the fertility of a living faith that meets many successive problems with variety and versatility. Many of the older stages are still patent, writ large in the present fiber of our gospels. The writers themselves share definitely and visibly the apologetic and polemic of their own immediate day and circumstances. But the last phase is not the only one. Behind it we may believe there were other motives now in part submerged and the multiple waves of recurrent attack and defense, argument and rebuttal, claim and counterclaim, doubt and the reply of faith.

SOME REMARKS ON FORMGESCHICHTLICHE METHODE

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Some fifteen years ago three books of fundamental importance for the history of gospel criticism appeared: K. L. Schmidt's, *Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, Berlin, 1919; Dibelius' *Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Tübingen 1919, 2nd edition, 1933, and Bultmann's *Geschichte der synoptischen Evangelien*, Göttingen, 1921, 2nd edition, 1931.¹ For reasons which were partly fortuitous, partly inevitable, all approached the central problem of the gospels from similar points of view. All had come under the intoxicating influence of Gunkel, had been forced to reckon with the theories of Reitzenstein, had felt that current solutions to the Synoptic Problem and more especially the uncertain and eclectic combinations of Mark and Q did not represent the last word to be said on the sources of the life of Jesus, and had sensed the necessity for relating the composition of the gospels to that of other popular literature.

The new method, which was called "formgeschichtlich" because of its emphasis on literary form in the analysis of documents, roused great enthusiasm and attracted many followers in Germany and occasioned some repercussions in England, France and America. Voices of warning, however, were heard from theologians like Holl² in Germany, Burkitt³ in England, and Cadbury⁴ and Easton⁵ in this country, who were somewhat appalled not only by the shattered fragments of early Christian history as it had previously been

¹ Intensive surveys of the literature and expositions of the method are given by Dibelius, *Zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Theologische Rundschau, N. F. 1 (1929), 185; Bultmann, *Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien*, (Aus der Welt der Religion 4), Giesen, 1925; and more critically by E. Fascher, *Die formgeschichtliche Methode*, Giesen, 1924; and B. S. Easton, *The Gospel before the Gospels*, New York, 1928.

² K. Holl, *Urchristentum und Religionsgeschichte* (Studien des Apologetischen Seminars 10), Gutersloh, 1925.

³ J. T. S.

⁴ *Between Jesus and the Gospels*, Harvard Theological Review xvi (1923).

⁵ op. cit.

understood, but by the novel basic assumptions which made possible the complicated dissection of literary wholes and their cavalier dismissal as evidence for Jesus' life. It must be admitted that great gains have been incidental to the applications of the method: that Schmidt has emphasized important problems in the historical narrative of Mark and that Dibelius' and Bultmann's classifications of "forms" have pointed out the characteristic and typical varieties of ways in which the evangelists have told their tale. But the suspicion arises whether the new views have not so much occasioned as been unconsciously occasioned by a new view of early Christian history and a new evaluation of it⁶ and whether in the case of an ostensibly historical literature, historical and literary methods should not be made to check each other more rigorously.

In connection with this large and formidable problem three aspects of *formgeschichtliche* criticism have been selected for brief consideration: (1) the theory of pericopes or sections, (2) the attempt to relate the gospels to the immediate needs of the early church; and (3) the general importance of historical interests in early Christianity.

(1) The theory of literary composition which most of us have learned to accept is that the gospels are finished productions which owe their form and literary texture to the authors who produced them. The possibility of written or oral sources has been admitted but it has been generally maintained that, whereas we are on secure ground when we criticize the gospels themselves, we enter a highly speculative realm when we attempt to go behind them and picture the stages of transmission through which the materials reached their authors. Exponents of the *formgeschichtliche Methode*, however, have successfully overcome this sense of reserve and feel confident not only in reconstructing many of the sources but also in determining accurately their original forms. Leaving on one side detailed questions of literary classification, the view common to most representatives of the new school is that the gospels were composed of individual stories which had achieved an approximately finished form before they were incorporated in extensive biographies of Jesus. The critics should, therefore, survey the field from the

⁶ It is interesting in this connection that both Bultmann's and Dibelius' critical works have been accompanied by new theological estimates of Jesus for which their criticism has laid the foundation.

vantage point of these stories, not from the gospels themselves, and should work backward to the constituent elements of these isolated narratives—sayings of Jesus and the scenery provided for them—and forward to their combination by the evangelists.

What is the evidence for this? Apart from purely *a priori* considerations which have played a considerable rôle in discussion, the facts are relatively simple and can be considered under three headings: (a) the existence of brief anecdotes like the woman taken in adultery, the incident of the Bloody Sweat and the logia and fragmentary anecdotes of the papyri; (b) signs of transparent connective tissue which permit the dismembering of our documents and the recovery of fragments of earlier gospel-like literature which illustrate how and from what our gospels developed; and (c) apparent differences in point of view between or within individual sections.

(a) The existence at an early period of isolated sayings and anecdotes of Jesus requires no discussion, as they are found not only in detached or easily detachable form in the examples just cited, but are evident enough in the context-less sayings and fortuitously placed incidents in the gospels. Most, if not all of them are unhistorical and tendentious, but they are products of a definite literary impulse and represent on a small scale what the gospels do on a large: a desire to know more about Jesus and a disposition to recall or invent his actions and words. They are minute but authentic literary pieces and, though they may rest on oral tradition, are not mere notes designed for larger works, but have been given definite literary form by individual authors. The existence of this *Kleineliteratur*, in the true sense of the word, however, is no proof that finished compositions like these invariably or regularly lay before the evangelists. The ultimate test for each section should, therefore, be that applied when interpolations are suspected,—consistency in style and agreement in thought,—and there is no ground for an initial predisposition toward a belief in a gospel before the gospels where special evidence for independent literary existence is lacking.

(b) In dealing with the question of connective tissue a distinction must be made between the inevitable devices by which the evangelists relate the individual incidents and sayings of their hero and those transitional elements which by their inappropriateness to their present context appear to be survivals of an earlier process of composition.

Easton, whose attitude toward the new method is sympathetic but reserved, supplies several good examples of this type of form criticism. 'In Mk. 2: 1-3: 6', he says,⁷ 'we have a collection of five controversies concluded by the words, "The Pharisees with the Herodians took counsel against him, how they might destroy him." But, as has often been noted, this stands much too early in the narrative and it is difficult to comprehend except as the original conclusion of a controversy-cycle which Mark had incorporated bodily. Or, noting that the wording of Mk. 3: 6 recurs in 12: 13 at the beginning of another series of "forms," we may explain the earlier verse as an echo of what was the next phase in a cycle Mark had bi-sected.' But in reading the passage one is at a loss to understand the difficulty of comprehension. Mk. 3: 6 concludes the anecdote about the man with the withered hand. The miracle occasions surprise and discussion and Jesus' critics are introduced, as frequently, by a verb without nominal subject, 'And they asked him whether he will heal him on the Sabbath, that they may accuse him.' Who these opponents were appears in 3: 6, the Pharisees who left the synagogue and promptly took counsel with the Herodians how to dispose of Jesus. Here is no connective tissue, nor are the Herodians, who to be sure reappear in 12: 13, immediately involved in the dispute. To regard the verse as misplaced connective tissue surviving out of context ignores the plain meaning of *καὶ ἐξελθόντες*. The reason why the Pharisees went out of the synagogue, as 3: 1 explains, was because they were inside. Furthermore it is quite perverse to say that 'The wording of Mk. 3: 6 recurs in Mk. 12: 13.' The words which the two verses have in common are *καί, αὐτόν* and the proper names 'Pharisees' and 'Herodians.' In the one case the Pharisees leave the synagogue to plot with Herod's men; in the other the high priest, scribes and elders send Pharisees and Herodians to trap Jesus in speech.

'Again,' Easton observes,⁸ 'while Mark's fourth chapter is concerned chiefly with parables, its contents are united by the description of Jesus' teaching from a boat. But this feature is certainly not due to the Evangelist for it is inconsistent with his own surcharges. The same boat, moreover, is used to connect the parable scene with the next section and its movements make the transitions throughout this section.' Now it is evident that in 4: 10 Mark

⁷ op. cit. p. 71.

⁸ op. cit. p. 72.

strays from the strict course of the narrative to explain how Jesus always taught in parables and interpreted them privately to his disciples and in the course of this digression he introduces matter not strictly relevant to the scene in hand. The story is, however, perfectly consistent and the digression is as pointedly concluded at v. 35, where the parabolic method is again explained. It is also connected with the preceeding by the fact that the parable first interpreted is the one told from the boat. Nothing in the narrative is out of place and there is no sign of the survival of a clumsily transposed context.

'But the most striking evidence of pre-Markan cycles,' continues Easton,⁹ 'appears in 6:30-8:26, the two parts of which (6:30-7:37 and 8:1-26) are in extraordinary parallelism: a miraculous feeding, a journey across the lake, a controversy with the Pharisees, a departure from Galilee, a saying about bread, and a healing. As we cannot believe that Mark was consciously responsible for this long chain of doublets, we must suppose that the two series were circulated separately and that the Evangelist combined them.' Except in the most formal sense, however, there is no chain of doublets. The two stories of the feeding of the multitudes may fairly be described as doublets in the sense that two versions of the same story were undoubtedly known to Mark and instead of sacrificing one to the other or combining the two, he told them both. The connective tissue, however, remains strikingly his own and the proof is that in Jesus' discussion of the feeding in 8:17 ff. he refers specifically to both stories as separate events. The following chain becomes less impressive when its links are described concretely. After the feeding of the 5000 the disciples take a boat to Bethsaida and Jesus joins them by walking on the sea; after the feeding of the 4000 Jesus and his disciples travel by water to Dalmanutha. In the first cycle this is followed by the dispute about ceremonial washing, in the second the Pharisees ask for a sign which Jesus refuses. Then comes the remark about defilement (which can scarcely be described 'as a saying about bread') and this is paralleled by the discussion of the feedings in 8:14 ff. Finally comes the healing of the Syro-Phoenician woman in the first series and the cure of the blind man at Bethsaida in the other. Clearly there are no doublets here except for the stories of the feedings, and the notion of two underlying parallel sources each con-

⁹ op. cit. p. 72.

taining 'a miraculous feeding, a controversy with the Pharisees, a departure for Galilee, a saying about bread, and a healing' presupposes two authors inexplicably desirous of producing cycles of this formal character, but selecting different materials for their purpose.

(c) The problem of inconsistency between parts and wholes of ancient documents is always difficult, for the difference of feeling for what should or should not hang together is one not only of individuals but of times. The demands of critics of the *form-geschichtliche* school on this point are unusually exacting and where they are not satisfied, give occasion for a minute analysis of the processes of composition. Bultmann's book is full of complaints that the situations in the gospels are inappropriate to the conversations. For example, when Jesus eating with publicans and sinners meets the Pharisees' protest by saying: 'The strong have no need of a physician, but the sick. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners,' Bultmann¹⁰ points out that we are not told where the Pharisees came from or when they entered the dining room, and although the "sinners" of the narrative section appear to be the same as those in Jesus' remark, his statement has no clear connection with the story and must have been an isolated saying for which an infelicitous setting has been devised.

Again, Bultmann claims¹¹ the story of the blind Bartimaeus cannot have been composed by Mark, since there is but one other example in the Synoptics (Mk. 5: 22) where a proper name is mentioned in connection with a miracle.

The treatment of the incident of Caesarea-Philippi is more complicated. This, says Bultmann,¹² is a legend created by the community. The mention of Caesarea-Philippi has survived from the source of the preceding narrative which has been perverted as a preface to Peter's confession. The account rests on a fragmentary base, the original conclusion of which is preserved not by Mark but by Matthew in the charge to Peter and the original setting was a post-resurrection narrative. Its purpose was to lend Jesus' own authority to the view that he was the Messiah. There is one objection to this, viz. that Jesus pointedly does not admit his

¹⁰ *Geschichte des synoptischen Tradition*, (2nd edition) p. 16.

¹¹ *op. cit.*

¹² *op. cit.*

Messiahship. But Bultmann meets this: Jesus' reply to Peter is the invention of Mark, the author's one contribution to the story.

From these examples it is difficult to resist the impression that in spite of many acute observations in matters of detail, *formgeschichtliche Kritik* in its broad lines marks a return to the methods of the 18th century rationalists. It is not primarily a literary but a philosophical and historical theory; its literary corollaries derive in the main from a previously determined reconstruction of the facts of early Christian history and psychology.

(2) We may now consider some of the connections maintained by the "Formgeschichtliche" between the early church and its earliest literary output. It should first be noted that we know very little about the spontaneous needs of the earlier Christian communities and therefore of what they would be likely to create to satisfy them. Most of our literature is either normative or artificial. Paul's letters tell us much less of what the early Christians were than of what he wished them to become. From his point of view they were in need of specific moral instruction, a more sympathetic understanding of his own theology, and a higher sense of discipline in the regulation of worship and social life. What he tells us is that though some were virtuous, zealous and well behaved, others were quarrelsome, superstitious, incestuous, lax in doctrine, and drunken at the Eucharist. The Book of Acts on the other hand gives a discreetly selective picture of the facts. It tells us the kind of sermons early Christians preached, the way some of them lived, the shape devotional interests were taking and the evolving attitudes towards new liturgical forms and novel theological ideas. Neither the Pauline epistles nor the Acts provides a secure "seat in life" for the gospel sections supposed to belong to their time. Jesus' words are not often cited as commands nor his acts as models for conduct and his miracles are not rehearsed as proofs of his power. His second coming, his Messiahship, his Lordship are insisted upon, but of plain historical facts only his existence as a human being and his last supper are evoked. It is curious indeed that no evidence of their use survives if, in the gospels, so many stories with a moral were invented for homiletic purposes, in however broad a sense. Why, if the gospel sections were in constant circulation for homiletic purposes, do they survive only in

non-homiletic form? Why do we have so many materials for one kind of sermon, but, in the early period, only sermons of other kinds?

(3) If we are to understand the immediate background of the gospels and the occasion for their composition we must start from the gospels themselves, the logia and independently attested pericopes, and the apocryphal gospels. The psychology of this literature is not hard to comprehend and can be summarized in the simple phrase "the desire to know more about Jesus." The evidence goes to show that information on this point in the first century was rare and difficult of access. There were a few who remembered and more who imagined they did and the Synoptics made as discreet a use as they could of these materials. The measure of their discretion can be taken from a comparison of their work with the Fourth Gospel, and later apocryphal productions. Why the novel desire for more information about Jesus seems to have made its appearance shortly after the year 70 is more difficult to explain. Two suggestions, neither quite new, may be made: (a) the pressure of christological interest which, in spite of its variety, was constantly increasing in force; (b) the fall of Jerusalem. This event was important not only for the Jews but also for Christians. For the Jews it was another shattering of the national hope; for the Christians it was a break with their first settled home, the place whither their Lord had led them, where he had died and risen again. It is no accident that the Synoptic gospels are more Jewish than Gentile; but Gentile Christians also were not unmoved by this nostalgic sense. When St. Paul asked for money for the saints in Jerusalem, his claim was rooted in the ground of Palestine where Jesus lived and died. Local traditions thrive on native soil. When that soil is threatened, they must be transplanted to the field of literature.

THE DATE OF PETER'S CONFESSION

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That at the time of the arrest of Jesus his followers fled back to Galilee in dismay would appear reasonably certain, in spite of the silence of Luke-Acts which passes over this incident, or, perhaps better said, rewrites the Markan account in such a way as to preclude it. Mark, to be sure, has no mention of this Galilean chapter, yet clearly indicates familiarity with the tradition of resurrection appearances there:

Howbeit, after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee.¹

But go, tell his disciples and Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.²

Luke omits the former of these and transforms the latter to "Remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee..."³ to accommodate it to his account. The traditional final parting of the risen Jesus from his disciples⁴ and the moving story of the appearance by the lakeside and consequent dialogue with Peter⁵ evidence the fact that the Lucan view was not universally held but was apparently later and more conventionalized. Similarly Justin Martyr bears witness to the flight of the disciples "who repented of their flight from him when he was crucified, after he rose from the dead."⁶

That behind these few obscure references lies a most significant incident for the history of early Christianity can scarcely be doubted. Would the disciples go back to their earlier tasks with the feeling that their dreams had been shattered by the hard facts of reality, "We had hoped that it was he who should redeem Is-

¹ Mark 14:28.

² Mark 16:7.

³ Luke 24:6.

⁴ Matt. 28:16-20.

⁵ John 21:1-23.

⁶ *Dial.* 106; *Apol.* i, 50 (end).

rael," that the last word had been spoken and that it was failure; or would their confidence in him rally and be strong enough to face the problem of his apparent defeat and to transform it into a new ground for confidence in his victory? Many attempts have been made to explain how the latter conviction was achieved. One thing would appear probable. Before the band of erstwhile followers returned to the nation's capital they had achieved a confidence that their leader had not been defeated by death, which did not need to be bolstered up by the discovery of an empty tomb.

Underlying the later conventional explanation of a series of supernatural appearances of the risen Lord which nerved them to their new task is the persistent reference to Simon or Cephas or Peter.⁷ Apparently Simon-Cephas-Peter are names of the same individual although this has been occasionally doubted (largely on the basis of the *Epistle of the Apostle* 2). That the most primitive element in the resurrection stories is the enigmatic "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon" has commended itself to many scholars as highly probable. In line with this the word "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have *you*, that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for *thee*, that thy faith fail not; and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren"⁸ is highly significant. It is well worth considering whether the revived hopes of the early group are not largely to be accounted for by the initiative of this one disciple who in Acts appears at first as the leading figure in the Jerusalem circle, and about whom many traditions soon gathered, both as to his prominence during the days of Jesus' ministry and also of his denial and restoration. Coincident with the new confidence would appear to me to have been the firm belief that the "son of man," of whom Jesus had so often spoken, was none other than Jesus himself, now in heaven, whither he had been translated by God, and that he would speedily return to establish the kingdom and to take his seat upon the judgment throne.

The purpose of this paper is to raise two questions: First, Is not the story of the Transfiguration based upon a tradition of the resurrection appearance to Peter referred to in Luke 24:34 and I Cor. 15:5? Second, Is not the story of Peter's famous confession

⁷ Luke 24:34; I Cor. 15:5.

⁸ Luke 22:31 f.

at Caesarea Philippi the rewriting of an older story of the way Peter, once he had "turned again," had "established his brethren?"

Once we free ourselves from the notion that the Gospel of Mark is a simple unstudied account, either the rescript of the early days, as he had transcribed it from the preaching of Peter, or the loose assembly of traditions which he had written down in no particular order and with no particular plan—pebbles washed together by the swift-running stream—but view it as a very carefully wrought out narrative evidencing skillful planning, careful selection of material, and an unhesitating readiness to revamp and rewrite these materials to make them fit the structure he was rearing, the stories of Peter's confession and of the subsequent Transfiguration appear in a new light. The former marks the turning point in the narrative. From the time of the baptism Jesus knows who he is and the purpose of his mission, but carefully conceals it. None the less he expects eventually that his intimates will grasp it, for, unlike the rest, it was theirs to know the mystery of the kingdom.⁹ In chapter 8 comes the climax: They are crossing the lake. They have seen the two miraculous feedings, of the 5000 and of the 4000; yet, although Jesus is in the boat, they can bewail their lack of bread! Jesus rebukes them, "Do ye not yet perceive, neither understand. . . . Do ye not yet understand?"¹⁰ Immediately follows the story of the blind man who gains his sight, but at first only in part, so that he sees men "as trees, walking."¹¹ Whatever the original nature of the story may have been—as the sober account of an actual event there are obvious difficulties: how did the blind man know what either trees or men looked like?—as Mark has used it is of cardinal importance. It is immediately followed by the similar experience of Peter. From his eyes too at Caesarea Philippi the scales fall and he makes his famous confession.¹² But, like the man in the story, his sight at first is not clear, and he must be rebuked for his failure to see that suffering and death were a necessary part of Jesus' task.¹³ Then follows the Transfiguration as its sequel. Peter has made his confession; God's answer comes from heaven, Peter was right, "This is my be-

⁹ Mark 4:10 f.

¹⁰ Mark 8:14-21.

¹¹ Mark 8:22-26.

¹² Mark 8:27-30.

¹³ Mark 8:31-33.

loved son: hear ye him." The first word from heaven, at the time of the baptism, had been for Jesus' information, and had been addressed to him personally; the second is appropriately addressed to the disciples, and comes to confirm their dawning faith. Again Peter sees "men as trees, walking"—"Rabbi, it is a good thing that we are here: let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah."

That this arrangement and interpretation of these stories is due to Mark and not to any indication which they had showing under what circumstances they had occurred appears to me highly probable. Nor does the fact that Matthew and Luke accept the Markan arrangement alter the matter in the slightest degree. Here, as elsewhere in the so-called triple tradition, we have one witness, not three. Are there any indications of the original nature of these two stories which Mark has so effectively used? As indicated on a previous page, I think there is.

It has occasionally been suggested that underlying the narrative of the Transfiguration was a resurrection story. This appears to me highly probable. Moreover this story was apparently influenced by the strikingly similar story of the exploit of Moses in the mountain with its reference to the lapse of six days, the veiling clouds, and the vision of Jehovah.¹⁴ That is, it was apparently originally the story of an *appearance* of the glorified Christ to some one rather than the *transformation* of him before the eyes of companions. Apparently there were many resurrection stories circulating in the early days,¹⁵ which eventually dropped out of sight or were revamped. As an illustration of this transformation one thinks of Luke 5:1-11, apparently the same story as that in John 21:1-12, and which Luke has substituted for Mark 1:16-20.

But the point to be observed is that in our story of the Transfiguration (and the same is true of Luke 5:1-11) Peter holds the central place in the narrative. To be sure, James and John are present as in the Gethsemane narrative, but they are lay figures who contribute nothing to the action and whose presence might easily be dispensed with. May it not conceivably have been a narrative arising from Peter's confidence that Jesus had not been defeated but was in heaven, and influenced or embellished by the appearance

¹⁴ Exod. 24:12-18.

¹⁵ Cf. those presupposed in I Cor. 15:3-7.

of Jehovah to Moses? The Exodus narrative may well be the reason that in this vision of the story (cf. also the final parting in Matt. 28:16-20) a mountain and not the lakeside of Galilee is represented as the place of the appearance.

The story of Peter's confession has long been a puzzle. As Mark introduces it, it is highly effective and an essential part of his thesis. But that his representation of a Messianic secret carefully guarded by Jesus is historical is at best doubtful. Did Jesus think of himself as the son of man of whom he often spoke? To an increasing number of scholars this has seemed most questionable. This skepticism I entirely share. Rather, Jesus appears to me to have considered himself the prophet of God, appointed—anoointed if one will—to herald the approach of the kingdom and the coming of the supernatural final judge, whom he may well have referred to, in language reminiscent of the current interpretation of Daniel, as the 'son of man.' Moreover, the whole notion of the blindness of the disciples and of their constant stupid misunderstanding of Jesus' words appears to me decidedly overdrawn—in part through the representation of Mark, whose theory of the secret compelled such a deduction; in part through modern reluctance to allow Jesus to have held views which subsequent events failed to substantiate. If this fundamental assumption be made, there seems even less a place for the story of Jesus' pointless queries to Peter or of the latter's amazing reply. What then was the origin of the story? Is it simply a creation of Mark's brain? This I am inclined to doubt. Rather, as already suggested, I incline to see it arising from the same incident that made possible Jesus' traditional admonition to Peter "to strengthen his brethren."

With amazingly few alterations the story would exactly fit the circumstances outlined in the early pages of this essay. To his disillusioned comrades, whose questions, expressed or unspoken, may well have been, "Who then was he?" Peter in substance makes reply: "He is the son of man whose coming he constantly predicted."

This confidence was contagious. At least the identification was apparently made the first stone in the imposing edifice of Christology. What then more natural than that as the years went by the traditions that Jesus had, as the prophet of the kingdom, heralded the coming of the son of man, his greater successor, were gradually transformed and eventually were made the message of

John the Baptist who thus became the forerunner of Jesus, his greater successor?¹⁶

As thus reconstructed, the historical incidents underlying the two accounts would have occurred in the reverse order, as Schweitzer, on other grounds, maintained. To what extent the stories had become transformed during the years between the crucifixion and their utilization by Mark it is impossible to say. If, as appears to me highly probable, Mark was the first to make a definite attempt to give a connected and articulated narrative, there would probably have been few clues in the separate traditions and legends indicating when, where, or under what circumstances Jesus had said or done this or that. Thus a compiler whose prime interest was to produce a chronological or biographical account might well have found himself confronting an insuperable task. Mark's aim, however, was far different. The absence of such data, far from being a hindrance, may well have encouraged him to utilize and interpret the materials as seemed to him best. Why and when, if this conjecture be allowed, the scene of Peter's testimony came to be placed at Caesarea Philippi—a most surprising place for it—is perplexing. If we knew the answer to that query, perhaps fresh light might be shed on these dim, but highly fascinating, pages of the far past.

¹⁶ For a fuller statement regarding this possible transformation of John, originally an entirely independent figure, into Jesus' conscious forerunner, see my article, "Some Further Considerations Regarding the Origin of Christian Baptism," *Crozer Quarterly* viii, 1 (January, 1931), pp. 47-67.

THE SOURCES OF MARK

NORMAN HUFFMAN

The Papias tradition which makes Peter the source for Mark's information would promise a uniformity in outlook throughout the Gospel of Mark which the text of the Gospel scarcely presents. There seems to be a major division of the Gospel into two parts. This division does not correspond to the change which takes place after Peter's confession at Caesarea-Philippi. The difference in the Gospel before and after this episode is dictated, if not by the events, at least by the contents of the tradition. The author is not entirely responsible for it. But there is a further change corresponding, not to any change in subject-matter, but to a shifting of the geographical scene. It corresponds roughly with the arrival of Jesus in Jerusalem. An examination of the Gospel suggests the hypothesis that the author's source of information changes at this point.

My first observation is that the traditions in Part I¹ are much farther removed, by the process of transmission, from the events themselves than are the traditions of Part II. The presence of so many legendary elements in Part I, as compared with Part II, makes this fairly obvious. Part I contains accounts of many miracles which, in their present form, cannot be accepted as being the observations even of enthusiastic and credulous eye-witnesses. Skin diseases are not ordinarily the sort of ailment that a healer like Jesus could have cured in a moment (see i, 40-42). The account of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (vi, 35-44) and its doublet, the Feeding of the Four Thousand (viii, 1-9), may, and probably do, have some historical event back of them, but the present form of the accounts is so far removed from that event that it is impossible to reconstruct it. The same must be said of the story of Jesus walking on the sea (vi, 47-51),² and of the cursing of the fig tree (xi, 12-14, 20-21), which apparently takes place outside Jerusalem.

¹ For convenience 'Part I' is used for all events which take place elsewhere than in Jerusalem, 'Part II' for events in Jerusalem.

² Unless we appeal to Jn. vi, 21^b for a possible explanation.

In contrast to these things, Part II contains very little that is miraculous. The three hours of darkness and the rending of the Temple veil at the time of the crucifixion (xv, 33, 38) are the only remarkable features. The darkness is not incredible and may have been due either to clouds or to a sand storm. The rending of the Temple veil is quite enigmatic; if it were found in the Gospel of John or in the Epistle to the Hebrews, it might be given a symbolic explanation. In Part II Jesus himself performs no miracles. And even the account of Easter morning, as far as it goes, seems to be quite accurate.³ Moreover, neither demons nor voices from heaven make their appearance in Part II; and although there may be less opportunity for, or less reason to expect, miracles, demons, and voices from heaven in Jerusalem than outside it, Mt. and Lk. succeed in introducing a modest portion of these features into their rewriting of the same events. In Mt.'s account of the crucifixion we have the earthquake, the opening of the tombs, and the resurrection of many people (Mt. xxvii, 51^b-53), and at the resurrection we have another earthquake and the angel who rolls away the stone (Mt. xxviii, 2-4). In Lk.'s account of the Gethsemane scene Jesus heals the servant's ear (Lk. xxii, 51^b). The non-western interpolation of the 'bloody sweat' (Lk. xxii, 43-44) shows the same tendency. The relative scarcity of supernatural elements here even in Mt. and Lk. tends to emphasize their dependence on Mk.

To sum up, the traditions in Part II seem to have been transmitted to us much more directly than those in Part I.

Let me deal now with some of the more general features, *viz.*, the apologetic motives and interests, the impressions which events made on their transmitters, the general atmosphere, outlook, and emotional tone. (One may be accused of "subjective criticism" in discussing such points as these, but the only possible test is to submit them to the judgment of others.)

In Part I there are several apologetic motives which are not continued in Part II. The most generally recognized motive in Mk. is the desire to prove that Jesus is the Son of God. In Part I demons (i, 24 and 34; iii, 11; v, 7), voices from heaven (i, 11; ix, 7), the disciples (viii, 29; x, 37), and miracles (ii, 10; iv, 41; vi, 39-44, 48; *et al.*)—all bear witness that Jesus is a supernatural person, though not always specifically "Son of God." In Part II we have

³ See K. Lake, *The Historical Evidences of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, especially pp. 250-252.

reference to Jesus as Son of God, Son of Man, and Messiah, but all such claims are made by Jesus himself. There are no substantiating witnesses, not even in Gethsemane or at Golgotha. [The centurion's words, "Truly this man was a Son of God," (xv, 39) cannot be taken in any but a general sense, particularly as the article is lacking from *υἱος* and the verb is an imperfect.]

In Part I demons bear witness to Jesus' supernatural character. Part II, having no demons, does not continue this motif. In Part I the parables are thought of as a device for hiding Jesus' secret from the crowds. Part II contains only one parable, that of the husbandmen (xii, 1-12), the meaning of which is (and was!) quite evident. In Part II Jesus does not wish his Messiahship to be kept a secret, as he does in Part I.

The leading motifs of Part I, then, do not seem to be continued in Part II.

I think that a change can be detected also in the emotional tone and coloring. It is generally recognized that before Caesarea-Philippi the outlook is optimistic and Jesus' mission is developing successfully. Then, at Caesarea-Philippi, the shadow of death hovers over the scene and continues until the end. But is the shadow which hovers over the Jerusalem scene identical with the one which overshadowed the way thither from Caesarea-Philippi? Prior to his arrival in Jerusalem Jesus accepts the prospect of death resolutely, as being a necessary part of his rôle, and never entertains the possibility that it might be avoided (viii, 31-33; x, 33-34). The expectation of the resurrection is a natural sequel (viii, 31; ix, 31; x, 34). But how can we relate this attitude to the prayer in Gethsemane or the cry from the cross? Part I has not prepared us for these. There is a lack of continuity.

The process of writing is usually accompanied by an emotional experience associated with the characters and events being depicted. Not infrequently the reader is conscious of these feelings on the part of his author. It seems that the events in Part II of Mk. are described with an emotional background quite distinct from anything in Part I. The emotional outlook in Part I is similar to that often found in evangelistic and homiletic people; it is the partially assumed optimism and assurance of one who has a doctrine to maintain or a cause to promote. The emotional background of Part II, on the other hand, might be compared to that created by a good dramatist for a tragedy; it is the result of an emotional im-

pression unconditioned by apologetic factors. The trial and crucifixion of Jesus are told with an astonishing amount of emotional reserve; yet we can feel that the author is reviewing events which arouse in him a feeling of tremendous pathos. The story of the passion and death of Jesus in Mk. is the record of an experience, and it appears to have been an experience which was unrelieved by the assurance that the resurrection would follow. We may have here the record of an experience formed before the resurrection and not altered noticeably by it.

The differences described above seem to be real enough and important enough to justify setting forth the following suggestions at least as hypotheses: first, that the author of the Gospel of Mark did not receive his information all from the same ultimate source or line of tradition (Peter, *e.g.*); second, that the information in Part II was gathered much more directly and has reached us much less altered than that in Part I; and third, that certain personal characteristics of the transmitter of Part II are discernible.

What explanation can be given for these phenomena? Professor Burkitt (among others) suggested that the young man in Gethsemane (xiv, 51-52) might well have been John Mark, and that we are indebted to his own reminiscences for a good portion of the account of the Last Supper and the Gethsemane scene.⁴ This is made plausible by supposing that the Last Supper may have been in Mark's mother's house, mentioned in Acts as a meeting-place for the disciples (Ac. xii, 12). Burkitt points out how vivid is the report of the Gethsemane scene, although none of the disciples was awake to witness it. This theory, if carried a bit farther, could be used to explain the features of the Gospel now under discussion. Let us suppose that Mark not only knew of the Last Supper and witnessed the Gethsemane scene, but that he also inquired into the details of the trial and may have witnessed the crucifixion. We do not know of a more likely source for this information than John Mark. He lived in Jerusalem. And the fact that he undertook to write what was probably the first 'gospel' shows his interest in some features, at least, of the life of Jesus. This theory would explain the uniform emotional temper with which all of these scenes are recorded. It might also explain the greater reliability with which they are reported. Their reporter was a remarkably level-

⁴ *J. T. S.*, xvii (1916), p. 296; *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 88-89.

headed and accurate observer for the first century, without any decided theories or apologetic motives to serve, and lacking a tendency to see supernatural manifestations. He merely passed on accurately what he knew, just as, presumably, he passed on without noticeable change the traditions of Part I which he received.

As for the sources of Mark's Gospel, then, I would attribute the closing scenes to the author himself. Specifically, I would include in this group with some amount of certainty the Gethsemane scene (xiv, 32-65), the trial before the Sanhedrin, the trial before Pilate, the crucifixion, and the visit of the women to the tomb (xv, i-xvi, 8). Vss. 1-8 of ch. xvi, with the exception of the mention of Galilee (vs. 7), seem an accurate report by Mark of what might have happened.⁵ It would be common knowledge among those remaining in Jerusalem. In addition I would think it reasonable that Mark knew something on his own account about the Last Supper (xiv, 17-26). Mark may have witnessed the cleansing of the Temple (xi, 15-18), and the disputes in the Temple (ch. xii), or he may have derived this information elsewhere; there is little to help one decide.⁶ The information of Judas' dealings with the authorities (xiv, 10-11) may well have been gathered by Mark. Ch. xiii, if genuine,⁷ is more likely to have been a tradition kept among the Twelve and proceeding from them. The anointing at Bethany (xiv, 3-9) is more likely to have proceeded from the Twelve also.

Tentatively accepting Mark as the source for these sections, then, what shall we suppose was the source (or sources) of his information for the rest of the Gospel? Does the Papias tradition about Peter and Mark account satisfactorily for the first part of the Gospel?

Several points can be put forward against this. One is the fact that the Gospel has two accounts of the miraculous feeding (vi, 35-44 and viii, 1-9). Would Peter, in telling this story twice, have varied to such an extent that Mark thought he was telling of two different events? Possibly, but I think not very likely. Moreover, would not Mark have had a more reliable account of what

⁵ See note 3.

⁶ Part of ch. xii (vss. 13-27) may be related to the collection of disputes in ii, 13-iii, 6 on account of the mention of the Herodians in both places. But to argue that the same Herodians would not be found both in Jerusalem and in Galilee is just as absurd as saying that Jesus and his party could not have been in both localities. See B. S. Easton, "A Primitive Tradition in Mark," in *Studies in Early Christianity*, ed. by S. J. Case, pp. 88-93.

⁷ I cannot here discuss the historical and literary problems involved in ch. xiii.

actually happened at this miraculous feeding, one capable of explanation, if he had learned of it directly from an eye-witness? The answer to this question depends largely on what one thinks of Peter's ability to see the miraculous.⁸

It is thought by some that the parallelism of the accounts here extends beyond the feedings themselves.

The order of events is:⁹

1st series (vi, 35-vii, 37)

- *Miraculous feeding
- *Disciples cross sea (Jesus joins them walking on the water)
- *Arrival at Gennesaret
- Acclaim by the crowd
- *Opposition from the Pharisees (Discourse against them)
- *Withdrawal to the district of Tyre (and Sidon)¹⁰

Return by a dubious route "through Sidon" (see below)

- *Difficult cure of a dumb man by the use of saliva in the Decapolis territory, possibly Bethsaida (see below)

2nd series (viii, 1-27)

- *Miraculous feeding
- *Jesus and the disciples cross the sea.
- *Arrival at Dalmanutha
- *Opposition from the Pharisees
- *Withdrawal to "the opposite side" (Discourse on the leaven of the Pharisees. Cp. preceding point of 1st series.)

- *Difficult cure of a blind man by the use of saliva at Bethsaida

Departure for Caesarea-Philippi

The similarities contained in these two accounts provide some reason for considering them parallel, in spite of much difference in detail. The legendary features assure us that we are none too close to the events. Gennesaret and Dalmanutha imply the same territory. Wellhausen¹¹ attempts to simplify the difficult return route "through Sidon" by the conjecture that the בִּי'דן which he supposes underlies δὶὰ Σιδῶνος should be translated *eis Βηθσαιδαν*, a

⁸ I am indebted to Prof. R. P. Casey for pointing out to me the bearing on this question of Lucian's *De Morte Peregrine*, in which an old man swears that he saw the raven of Lucian's romance. This is a good example of credulity, but it was based on suggestion. The accounts of the miraculous feedings are not quite so easily explained as this.

⁹ Possible doublets are marked with an asterisk.

¹⁰ This is certainly a good example of a "Western non-interpolation." DLWΔΘ 28 565 ab ff i n r¹ Syr^a Or. om. "And Sidon" was suggested to the NB text by the δὶὰ Σιδῶνος of vs. 31.

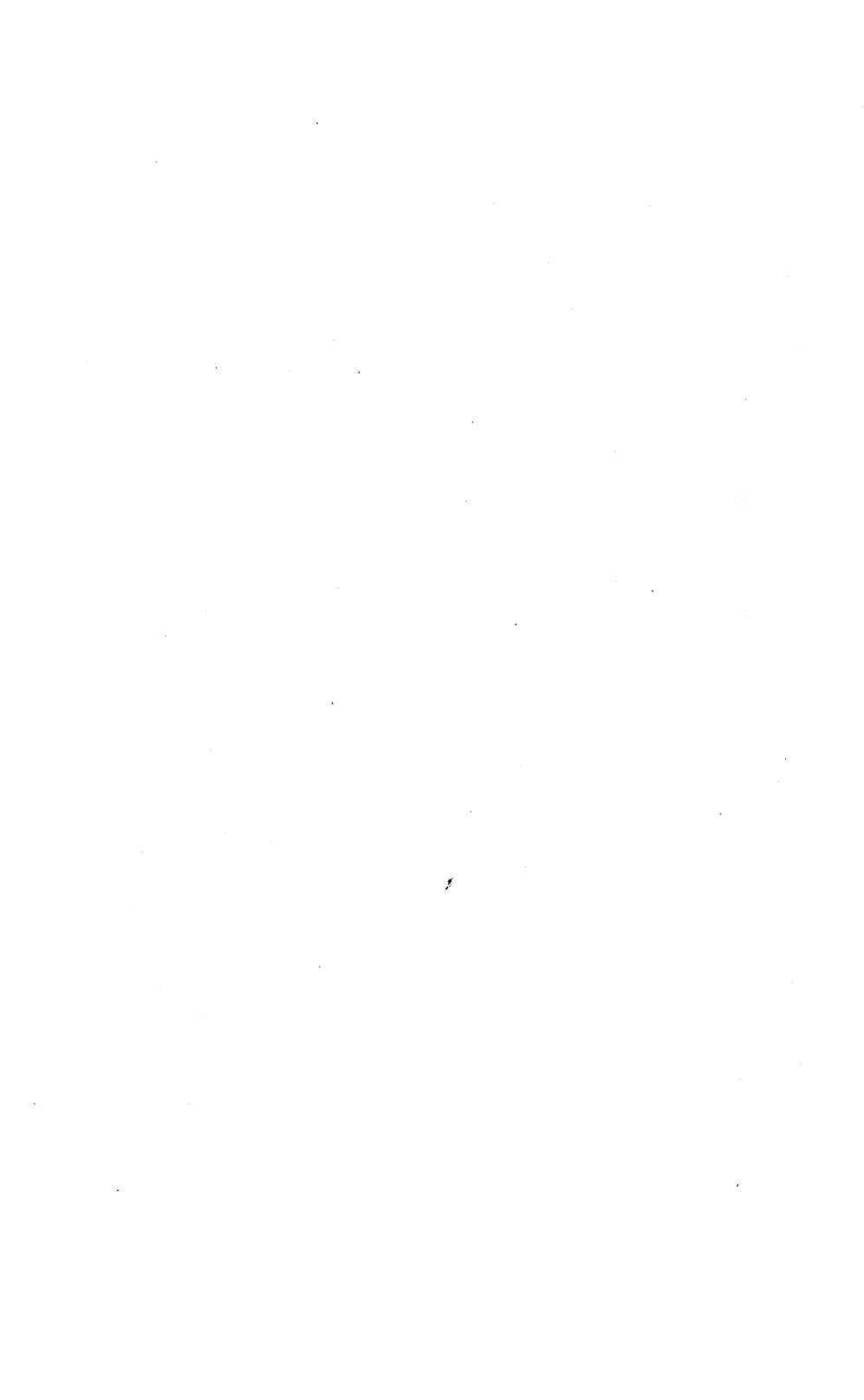
¹¹ *Das Evangelium Marci*, p. 57-58.

spelling "incorrect and phonetic, but easily the original in Mark." If this be so, the tradition assigns both of the difficult cures to Bethsaida. The first cure further resembles the second in its difficulty and in the peculiar method used (as well as in its being rejected by Mt. and Lk.); they may be the same. If so, the second account is the better one. The first account is so general that a "dumb" man could have been substituted later by mistake for the "blind" man without any alteration in the story. Jesus' movements could be reconstructed as follows: the miraculous feeding; crossing the sea to the western shore (Gennesaret, Dalmanutha); withdrawal to Bethsaida, on the "opposite side," due to the opposition of the Pharisees; the difficult cure there; the withdrawal to the north. The journey to and from Tyre (and Sidon) in series one should be identified with the single journey northward following the difficult cure, including Caesarea-Philippi going or (preferably) returning. The withdrawal to the north would terminate the Galilean ministry. Jesus passes through Galilee again only on his way to Jerusalem.

I have discussed this in detail because of its bearing on our problem. If these are parallel traditions of the same period in Jesus' ministry, it is improbable that Mark got both of them from Peter; they differ too much and are too confused for that. Mark must have received them from separate sources. Peter, then, could be only one of two or more sources for Part I.

Whether or not Mark used any written sources has never been satisfactorily proven. Contrary to the general impression, the usually recognized "characteristics" of Mark's style are not uniformly distributed, and they are noticeably sparse in what I have designated as Part II.¹² The only persistent one is the constant *kai . . . kai . . . kai* method of connecting sentences, and any Aramaic-speaking person, unfamiliar with the wealth of connective particles in the Greek language, would consider *kai* the inevitable translation for the constantly recurring Semitic *waw*. That written sources are incorporated in Mark is quite likely, and the division of Mark into Parts I and II gains some slight support from the standpoint of style. The extent and importance of this, if any, is yet to be determined.

¹² Check the distribution of the "Characteristics" given, for example, in Swete's *Commentary*.



THREE NOTES ON SAINT PAUL'S JOURNEYS IN ASIA MINOR

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Since the publication of Professor Lake's discussion¹ of Saint Paul's journeys in Asia Minor J. Bérard² in an article upon the same subject has offered some new suggestions which are worthy of consideration. As his article did not appear in a journal devoted to Biblical studies and some of his conclusions do not seem to me to carry conviction I wish to discuss here a number of the points he has brought forward and to incorporate at the same time some of the results of my own study of the topography and road system of Asia Minor in Roman times. The discussion takes the form of three notes, the first on the route from Perge to Antioch-toward-Pisidia, the second on the *Regio Phrygia Galatica*, and the third on the road to Alexandria Troas.

I. FROM PERGE TO ANTIOCH-TOWARD-PISIDIA

The text of Acts (XIII, 14) gives us no help regarding this stage of Saint Paul's first journey. We can only attempt to decide what was topographically and historically the most probable route. Ramsay³ believed that he went up one of the eastern branches of the Kestros river to Kara Bavlo (Adada), the modern name of which he thinks is a reminiscence of Saint Paul, and then either followed a path along the southeastern shore of Egerdir Lake or, and more probably, turning northeastward among the mountains about the sources of the Eurymedon, came out near Lake Caralis in the valley of Phrygia Paroreia. There are two objections to this view: first, a Turkish corruption of Saint Paul's name is more likely to become Ayo Bavlo than Kara Bavlo,⁴ and second, it is hard to

¹ *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, Vol. IV (Additional Note XVIII), 224-240.

² *Rev. Archéol.*, Ser. VI, V (1935), 57-90. He does not quote Lake's discussion.

³ *Church in the Roman Empire*, 13-22 (1893).

⁴ Lake, *op. cit.*, 224.

believe that there was a frequented highway beyond Adada through the rough country and the culturally backward communities about the sources of the Eurymedon.⁵ The only alternative to Ramsay's view would bring the apostle from Perge to the plateau of Asia Minor by one or the other of two passes⁶ northwest of the city, both of which had been in regular use for centuries, but there are equally strong objections to the more western pass and the branch of the road built under Augustus, the Via Sebaste,⁷ with which it connected. It would be a very circuitous route for one whose destination was Antioch and would raise the question why he did not go to Apameia, which lay near the road, was an important trading city, and had a considerable number of Jewish residents.⁸ One feels pleased therefore to find Bérard using the results of an Italian archaeological expedition undertaken in 1919⁹ to suggest a middle route which, ran almost directly northward from the eastern pass, the Klimax by way of Cremna, Sagalassus, and Baris to Prostanna at the south end of Eğirdir Lake, thence along the south-eastern shore of the lake to the Anthios valley below Antioch. As in the case of many of the roads of western Asia Minor, where few milestones have been found, the existence of this road cannot be completely proved for the Roman period. A succession of fine and well-spaced Seljuk khans, Evdir, Kirk Göz, Susuz, İncir, one east of Eğirdir Lake, and so on to Konya prove that it was commercially

⁵ See Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.*, 277-309 (1888) on his travels in this region. Most of the inscriptions belong to the late second century or afterwards. The imperial coinage of Adada begins with Domitian, Head, *Hist. Num.*² 705, of Pednelissos with Trajan, *ib.*, 709, of Tymbriada with Hadrian, *ib.*, 712. On Adada, Tymbriada, and the land of Ouramma see Ramsay, *Klio*, XXIII (1929-30), 245-247, and *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XXXVIII (1918), 139-150. On brigandage in the time of Augustus, cf. Strabo, XII, 7, 2 (570).

⁶ One led up by Termessus, an old Pisidian city, cf. Heberdey in P.-W. s. v. Termessus; the other, the Klimax, was certainly in use in the third century B.C., cf. Polyb. V, 72. See discussions by Paribeni, *Annuario d. Scuola Arch.*, III (1916-20, pub. 1921), 73-78; Paribeni and Romanelli, *Mon. Ant.*, XXIII (1914), 241-247; Rott, *Kleinasi. Denkmäler*, 23 f.; Ramsay, *C. and B.*, I, 325.

⁷ A milestone at Comama, *C. I. L.*, III, 6974, marked 122 miles, almost certainly from Antioch. On this road, see Ramsay, *Klio*, XXIII (1929-30), 249 f.; Plate V in *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, IX (1902-3); Cronyn, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XXII (1902), 109 f. By a slip Bérard has dated it in 6 A.D. instead of 6 B.C.

⁸ Strabo, XII, 8, 15 (578); in 62 B.C. the Jews of the region of Apameia contributed almost 100 pounds of gold for the temple tax, Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 68.

⁹ Pace, *Annuario VI/VII* (1923-4 pub. 1926), 383-393.

important in mediaeval times. Since it connected a series of ancient cities which were well-developed and important before the time of Augustus it is reasonable to suppose that it was used in antiquity and was available for Saint Paul.¹⁰ It avoids the difficulties of Ramsay's route, and is not so circuitous as the Via Sebaste.

II. THE REGIO PHRYGIA GALATICA

Ramsay¹¹ believed that the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*¹² in the account of Saint Paul's second journey (Acts, XVI, 6) referred to a sharply defined ethnic and administrative subdivision of the province of Galatia which (equating *χώρα* to the Latin technical term *regio*) was probably called the Regio Phrygia Galatica. Professor Lake¹³ has pointed out many of the objections to this interpretation adding "there is no evidence for this use (*χώρα* = *regio*) in Galatia except Ramsay's claim that an inscription of Antioch which reads *εκατονταρχην* [*?*]*εγεωνοριον* should be completed by reading a *ρ* for the missing letter, as Sterrett first thought, and not a *λ* as he afterwards preferred." Calder saw the stone again

¹⁰ These were all places of importance before the time of Saint Paul. Cremna, an Augustan colony, Strabo, XII, 6, 5 (569); Sagalassus, Livy, XXXVIII, 15, 9 (early II cent.), and coinage from Augustus, Head, *Hist. Num.*,² 710; Baris was less important (coins from Hadrian, *ib.*, 707) but Prostanna was known in the second century B.C., Ramsay, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, IX (1902-3), 257 f., and *Klio*, XXIII (1929-30), 244 f.

¹¹ *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 74 f.; *St. Paul, The Traveller and Roman Citizen*, 194 f.

¹² Bérard has made three suggestions worthy of consideration in interpreting this troublesome phrase: 1. In the inscriptions of Asia Minor the adjective ending in *-ικός* with the word *ἐπαρχία* occurs as an alternative to listing the many separate territories which had been lumped together to form the provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia, cf. *I. G. R. P.*, III, 263; *Inscr. v. Pergamum*, 436, 438, 440, 443, 451; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8819; *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1932, no. 5, 40 f. 2. The analogies of Acts XIX, 21 and XV, 41 tend to show that the absence of the article here does not prevent the phrase from referring to two distinct territories. (In all the passages however upon which Bérard relies the manuscripts vary so in inserting and omitting the article that they afford no good basis for interpreting any.) 3. Acts XIX, 1 apparently brings Paul over the same course on his third journey but differs from this passage in reversing the order of the phrases and emphasizing by means of the adverb *καθεξής* the exact order of the journey. Acts XVI, 6 may therefore be an example of the sort of *hysteron proteron* which often occurs in hasty or summary description. Saint Paul, coming from the east, passed through Galatian territory and then through Phrygia.

¹³ *Op. cit.* (note 1), 234 f.

in 1911 and verified the reading; ρ is correct.¹⁴ We can go farther however than Professor Lake and say that the technical sense of the word *regio* in Roman administration shows that the inscription, though correctly read, has no bearing upon the question at issue, a conclusion which may help to lay the ghost of Ramsay's theory.

The word normally used to describe an administrative subdivision within a province was not *regio* but *conventus*, an assize district. Pliny continually lists the communities of Asia and of Spain under their *conventus*.¹⁵ The equivalent word in Greek was *διοίκησις* which was used in this sense in Asia¹⁶ and became in Africa¹⁷ the regular term for the administrative subdivisions of the proconsular legates. In our Asiatic sources the word *regio* is used in two different senses. In Pliny the context of such phrases as *regio Milesia*, or *Apamena*, or *Eumenetica* as well as the parallel account of the official organization in *conventus* shows that they have no administrative implications but are merely geographical terms. The second and more technical meaning is found only after the administration of the imperial estates was reorganized by the Flavian emperors. In this sense it is a subordinate territory in the administration of the imperial estates and has nothing to do with the administrative divisions of a province. *Regio* has this meaning both in Africa and in Asia.¹⁸ The regionary centurion of the inscription of Antioch belonged to the service of the local subdivision of the imperial estates. The two facts that it is a third century inscription and that the imperial estates did not extend widely until the second and third centuries of the empire¹⁹ confirm our conclusion that the inscription is irrelevant for the days of Saint Paul. With this disappears all the Galatian evidence for Ramsay's view.

¹⁴ Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.*, nos. 92-3; Calder, *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, II (1912), 80-84.

¹⁵ *H. N.*, V, 91-VI, 17 passim; on Spain, IV, 110-122 passim.

¹⁶ Strabo, XIII, 4, 12 (628), where the statement that the Romans took little account of ethnic boundaries in their organization should have been a warning.

¹⁷ Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1061, 1126.

¹⁸ In Africa, cf. Mommsen, *Eph. Epig.*, V, 105-120; *C. I. L.*, VIII, pp. 1301-1338; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1139, 1437, 1439, 1440, 1484, 1486, 9012; Cagnat, *Inscr. Lat. Afr.*, 568. In Asia, *I. G. R. P.*, IV, 1651 = Dittenb., *O. G. I. S.*, 526: $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\delta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\pi\omega\nu$ $\rho\epsilon\gamma\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\Phi\iota\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\eta\nu\eta\varsigma$; cf. Broughton, *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, LXV (1934), 222 and the literature cited there.

¹⁹ Broughton, *op. cit.* and on the estates at Antioch esp. 231-3.

III. THE ROAD TO ALEXANDREIA TROAS

Saint Paul proceeded through 'Galatian territory and Phrygia' until he came to a point which is described as *κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν*, then, being forbidden to enter Bithynia, he went through Mysia to Troas. The text of Acts, XVI, 8 reads as follows: *παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα*. The point in northern Phrygia near Mysia to which he came may possibly be Dorylaion which commanded the best road into Bithynia from the south, but it may just as well be some other town in northern Phrygia. We cannot however follow Bérard in making Dorylaion the starting-point of Saint Paul's journey to Troas. The spurs of the Mysian Olympus extend too far south. The conditions of our problem, that he avoided Asia²⁰ and could not enter Bithynia, make it almost inevitable that he started his westward journey from Kotiaëion or some point only slightly south of it. The few roads which in ancient (or in modern) times have crossed the rough and undeveloped country of Mysia Abrette and Mysia Abbaeitis radiate from Kotiaëion.²¹

The text of Acts gives no help in deciding his route, for the word *παρελθόντες* may or may not mean 'skirting' (we shall see that it probably does not) and *κατέβησαν* does not certainly imply that Troas was the first point he touched upon the coast after coming down from the interior. It is impossible therefore to proceed beyond a conjecture, but since one route is more probable than the others and the one generally assumed is the least likely of all, discussion may be profitable.

Both Ramsay and Bérard²² believe that Saint Paul followed the Rhyndakos valley near the borders of Mysia and Bithynia until he reached the country about Cyzicus and then skirted the shores

²⁰ Professor Lake (*op. cit.*, 229 f.) has shown that Asia as used here most probably means west-central Asia Minor, not the province, and did not include Phrygia, Mysia, and Galatia. It is the Asia of *Acts*, II, 9 f. and of the *Apocalypse*.

²¹ The best detailed maps of the regions under discussion are those of Kiepert, Asia Minor, 1, 440,000, B I, Ayvalik, and B II, Brusa; and of Philippson, "Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien," in *Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungshefte*, 167 (1910) = I; 177 (1913) = III; and cf. text of III, 87 f.

²² *St. Paul, The Traveller etc.*, 197; Bérard, *op. cit.* (note 2), 82 f. The mile-stones which Bérard cites, *C. I. L.*, III, 7178 = 14201, 7179, 7180, were all found within the territory of Cyzicus and are no evidence for a road in the Rhyndakos valley. No. 7181 belongs to Çanak Kale in the Troad! The Byzantine *Vita Eubioti* mentions a church founded by Paul Silas in the village of Poketos near Cyzicus; the source is hardly to be trusted.

of the Marmora and the Hellespont until he came to Troas. There are two minor objections to this view. It is a circuitous route to Troas, and there is no mention of a stop at the large and important commercial city of Cyzicus which must have supplied many of the conditions suitable for Saint Paul's work. But the most important objection is that the travellers who have studied the topography of the Mysian highlands, Munro and Anthony, Wiegand, Philippson,²³ and others, all agree that the rough, narrow, and circuitous gorge of the Rhyndakos valley above Kestelek never became a highway of any importance. The only city known within that valley, Hadriani-ad-Olympum,²⁴ was founded in the second century and grew because it commanded the spot where a track from Prusa to the south crossed the river. The Rhyndakos valley is the least likely route.

There are two other possibilities. A modern and mediaeval route runs westward from Kotiaëion to Hadrianotheræ (Balikesir) along the line of a depression which divides the Mysian highlands into a northern and a southern portion and is followed for the most part by the newly constructed railroad. If this were a road in general use in Saint Paul's day it would appear to be the most direct and likely route, but it is open to the objection that except for Hadrianæia (Balat),²⁵ which is obviously a second century foundation, we know the names of no ancient sites upon it. Eastern Mysia however is still poorly explored and the sites of several cities which are known only by their coins still remain undiscovered.²⁶ So far as we know the development of city life and communications in Mysia Abrette and the region about Olympus, which was still troubled by brigandage in the second century, dates from the reign of Hadrian.²⁷ These considerations incline the balance of probability

²³ Munro and Anthony, *Geograph. Jour.*, IX (1897), 150-168, 256-276, esp. 257, 263 f.; Wiegand, *Athen. Mitt.*, XXIX (1904), 254-339, esp. 329-339; Philippson, III (note 21), 64-68. In Strabo's description of Olympene [XII, 8, 8 (575)] Mannert's emendation εἰ συνοικοῦμενος does not correspond to the historical and geographical facts; the ms. reading οὐ should be retained.

²⁴ See note 23; coins from Hadrian on, Head, *Hist. Num.*,² 528.

²⁵ Wiegand, *op. cit.*, 327 f.; Munro, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XVII (1897), 290, and XXI (1901), 229 f.; coins from Hadrian on, Head, *loc. cit.*

²⁶ E.g. Attas and Germe. Cf. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, 171-201, and esp. 197 f.

²⁷ On the development of Mysia Abrette and Abbaëitis, see Broughton, *op. cit.* (note 18), 223 f. On brigandage, Strabo, XII, 8, 9 (575), under Augustus, and Lucian, *Alexander*, 2, II cent. med.

strongly in favour of the most southerly route which ran from Kotiaëion by way of Aizanoi to the lake of Synaos and the upper Makestos valley. Here the conditions of our problem are best met. The road is quite practicable; it lies wholly within Phrygia and Mysia; it connects a series of communities which existed and give indications of intercommunication and development before the time of Saint Paul. Aizanoi is an old Phrygian city. The former tribal union of Mysia Abbaeitis had already broken down before Saint Paul's time to form the cities of Synaos and Ankyra Sidera. Slightly to the north lay the new city of Tiberiopolis, and the Makestos valley provided an open passage to the west.²⁸ At Sinderçi where the Makestos turns northward there branched off a road leading to the Caicus valley, to Thyateira and to Pergamum, but since these cities belonged to the Asia of our text it follows that Saint Paul turned north to Hadrianutheræ which must have been a center of some importance even before it was granted the status of a city by Hadrian.²⁹ From here there radiated roads to Cyzicus, to Bithynia and the Bosphorus, to the Caicus and Hermus valleys, and southwest to Adramyttion and the southern coast of the Troad.³⁰ Saint Paul's route from Hadrianutherae to Troas appears less certain. Munro³¹ once suggested a course directly west to the upper waters of the Aisepus, thence over the divide and down the Scamander to Skepsis and Troas but a better acquaintance with the terrain led him to give up this theory. This leaves as the most probable way the fairly easy and, in modern times at least, well-travelled road from Hadrianutheræ to Adramyttion, thence along the south coast of the Troad to Assos and across the

²⁸ On Aizanoi, Strabo, XII, 8, 12 (576); coins from Augustus, Head, *op. cit.*, 664; coins of Synaos from Nero, *ib.*, 685; of Ankyra Sidera from Nero, *ib.*, 665; of Tiberiopolis perhaps from Tiberius or Claudius *ib.*, 687 f.

²⁹ Hadrianutheræ was probably a temple territory and slow in changing to municipal institutions. See on the temple of Zeus, and the estates of the family of Aristeides, who was a native, and whose father was priest of Zeus, Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide*, 111 f. Good communications with Kotiaëion in the second century are probable since Aristeides at the age of twelve went to study with the famous *grammaticus*, Alexander of Kotiaëion, *Orations*, XXXII (Keil). See *Vita Hadr.*, 20; and Head, *op. cit.*, 528.

³⁰ On the roads from Hadrianutheræ, see Philippson, I, 57 f.; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 131 f. On that to Adramyttion, esp. Philippson, I, 29 f., and 57; Wiegand, *op. cit.*, 262 f., and 337.

³¹ *Geograph. Jour.*, IX (1897), 257; *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XXI (1901), 234 f.

corner of the peninsula to Troas. He would then have repeated the stage from Assos to Troas in a reverse direction upon his return.

It may be objected that this route from Kotiaëion to Troas can under no circumstances be described as 'skirting' Mysia, for Hadrianotheraë lies in the heart of the Mysian territory. My answer is that *παρελθόντες* is vague in meaning and it was probably a realization of the geographical facts that prompted the reading *διελθόντες* in Codex Bezae and the reading *cum transissent autem Mysiam* in the corresponding Latin version. Should the value of speculating upon the exact routes of Saint Paul's journeys be called into question we may remember that the texts concerning them are our best evidence both for the ease and for the actual lines of communications in Asia Minor in the first century.

PAUL IN THE AGORA¹

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While Paul was waiting for Silas and Timothy in Athens, according to Acts "... he argued in the synagogues with the Jews and the worshippers and in the Agora every day with those who chanced to be there."²

The hypothetical picture of the important buildings Paul saw and their relative positions in the Agora has been given a kaleidoscopic twist as a result of the American excavations in the past few years.³

If Paul approached Athens from the north as he arrived from Beroea, he would probably have entered the city through the Dipylon Gate, whether he came by land or sea, for the Dipylon was both the principal northern gate and the regular entrance for those coming up from Peiraios. Paul would have walked up the slightly sloping road, after coming through the gate, between various imposing stoai and sanctuaries, and then would have reached the row of Hermai which marked the entrance to the Agora proper.⁴ These Hermai were terminated at the left by the famous Hermes Agoraios and the Stoa Poikile⁵ (Paus. i. 15. 1) and at the right by the Stoa Basileios (Paus. i. 3. 1). In the excavations of the American School, both these stoai seem to be unaccountably missing from the picture; it can only be assumed that they lie farther to the north, in the unexcavated section, and that they may have an east-west orientation.

¹ This is a revision and expansion of the topographical note in *The Beginnings of Christianity* (ed. by Foakes-Jackson and Lake, London, 1933, Vol. IV, pp. 209-210), written in the light of the recent Agora excavations.

² Acts xvii, 17.

³ This material is published in *Hesperia*, I-V, 1932-33-1936.

⁴ The section from the Dipylon Gate to the beginning of the Agora proper, as well as, apparently, the extreme northern section of the Agora still remains to be excavated and our topographical picture is based entirely on Pausanias and other more scattered literary evidence.

⁵ See below p. 142.

After the Stoa Basileios on his right, Paul would have seen the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, the southern portion of which has been excavated, and identified by the discovery of a statue of Hadrian which Pausanias (i. 3. 2) tells us stood before this stoa, and which was found very nearly in its original position.^{5a}

On the left, directly across the ancient street from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, was the enclosure and altar of the Twelve Gods, facing the north-east. The enclosure has been fixed at this point with some certainty since the discovery of a statue base on the spot inscribed: "Leagros, son of Glaukon, dedicated it to the Twelve Gods." A round marble altar decorated with reliefs of the Twelve Gods, discovered very near this site in 1877 and now in the National Museum at Athens is probably the very altar which stood in the Peribolos.

Farther to Paul's left as he stood between the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the altar of the Twelve Gods, he would have seen the magnificent Stoa of Attalos with its lines of small shops, extending for almost the entire length of the East boundary of the Hellenic Agora. This stoa was positively identified many years ago by the inscription recording its dedication by Attalos II.⁶ And, although Paul's view would probably have been cut off by the Stoa of Attalos, he might have seen, towering up even farther to the East, the great gate of Athena Archegetis which was the propylon of the Market of Caesar and Augustus in the later and more commercial part of the Agora.

On the right, south of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, was the temple of Apollo Patroös, which the Germans first uncovered in 1896 and which Dörpfeld identified as the Stoa Basileios. Its location, in fact, fits Pausanias' itinerary very well. In addition, the shape of the building is eminently suitable for a small temple, while it is difficult to imagine that it could ever have been called a stoa. In 1907 the Greeks discovered a large status of Apollo of good style and workmanship in front of the foundations of this building, making the identification certain. Pausanias says, after describing

^{5a}It is possible that the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios are one and the same. In a recent lecture Mr. Homer Thompson described terracotta fragments found near the stoa in the 1936 campaign. These seem to belong to the group mentioned by Pausanias as decorating the Stoa Basileios.

⁶ C.I.A. ii, no. 1170.

the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (i. 3. 3) "... and he (Euphranor) also executed the Apollo surnamed the Paternal in the temple hard by."

If Paul looked up to the Kolonos Agoraios on his right he would have seen the so-called Theseion, the fine fifth century temple still so well-preserved. It is very improbable that this traditional name for the building is correct, for, from all accounts, the Theseion must have been an entirely different type of sanctuary and located in some other part of the Agora. Moreover, the structure admirably answers to the description (Paus. i. 14. 5): "above the Kera-meikos and the Stoa Basileios is a temple of Hephaistos," for to the traveller today the temple still seems to dominate this entire section of the city.

Below the Hephaisteion and slightly to the south, Paul would have seen the Metroön, next on his right to the temple of Apollo Patroös. The sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, whose image was the work of Phidias (Paus. i. 3. 4), is mentioned by Pausanias immediately after the temple of Apollo, and its excavators have identified it by the inscribed roof-tiles, statuettes and reliefs of the Mother of the Gods found on its site.

Just west of the Metroön and partly cut into the cliff of the Kolonos Agoraios, the Bouleuterion has been excavated, in the same precinct as the Metroön, exactly as we understand from several ancient accounts. It also agrees with the order of Pausanias, for he mentions it after the Metroön and before the Tholos (i. 5. 1).

South of the Metroön and Bouleuterion and to his right, Paul would have seen the Tholos, described in this position by Pausanias (i. 5. 1). This structure was certainly identified by its circular shape and by the fact that several standard weights and measures, for which the Tholos is known to have been the repository, were found on the site.

It now seems probable that the statues of the Eponymous Heroes of Attika stood on the slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios and not the Areopagos, as had always been supposed. Pausanias, immediately after his location of the Tholos says that the Eponymous Heroes stand "higher up" (i. 5. 1) and the placing of these statues on the Areopagos was a false conclusion drawn from the hypothetical and incorrect location of the Tholos at the foot of its north slope.

Some distance east of the Tholos and Metroön and on Paul's

left as he faced the Areopagos he would have seen the Odeion, a rectangular structure with a cavea comprising slightly less than a semi-circle, which has been recently excavated. This building has been identified from Pausanias' mention of a statue of Dionysos "worth seeing" in it (i. 14. 1) and statues of the Ptolemies in front of it (i. 8. 6). A statue of Dionysos was actually found in the excavated building and, near the front of it, an inscribed statue base with the name Philadelphos. The so-called Stoa of the Giants which has long been conspicuous just north of the now-excavated Odeion forms the façade of a much later building on the same site and would not have been seen by Paul.

The statues of the Tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton may have stood somewhere between the Metroön and the Odeion on the left of the ancient street, although their exact position is conjectural. They are placed "opposite the Metroön" by Arrian (Anab. iii. 16. 8) and are mentioned immediately before the Odeion in Pausanias (i. 8. 5) but by the lexicographers Timaeus and Photius they are said to have stood in the Orchestra, a site not yet located.

Just south of the Odeion, a long stoa has been excavated. It stretched along the southern border of the Agora, its ends leaving room only for the two ancient streets to pass, one between its east end and the Tholos, the other between its west end and the south-western corner of the Stoa of Attalos. This structure is still unidentified but has been provisionally entitled the South Stoa. It was, no doubt, a conspicuous building and Paul must have seen it, although it seems odd that it was omitted from Pausanias' itinerary. It has been plausibly suggested by Mr. Shear that a stoa in the same position as the South Stoa in the north end of the Agora would make a logical enclosure of the section and fit admirably the literary evidence as to the position of the Stoa Poikile.⁷ This, however, remains to be proved by further excavation to the north.

South-west of the South Stoa a large fountain-house has been found. This has further complicated the already tangled evidence as to the position of the Enneakrounos, since it seems to fit Pausanias' description of it as being near the Odeion (i. 14. 1) far better than Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos on the slope of the Pnyx.

One may also hazard a guess that the Eleusinion, which was thought to be on the Pnyx Hill above Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos,

⁷ *Hesperia*, Vol. V, 1936, no. 1, p. 6.

will actually be found somewhere near the fountain-house in the Agora.^{7a} Sacred vessels limited to the worship of the Eleusinian Demeter and terra-cotta images appropriate to her worship have come to light in a small area in this section.⁸

Paul must have seen many other prominent land-marks of the the Agora,—the Sanctuary of Ares, the Theseion, the Heliæia and others,—but their position remains hypothetical until the American work of excavation and identification is carried further. So many conclusions have been reached in the past few years, however, that we may confidently expect equally definite locations for other famous and sacred monuments of the ancient Agora.

^{7a} Foundations discovered in 1936, just west of the "fountain-house", have been provisionally identified as the Eleusinion, A.J.A., Vol. XL, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1936), p. 413.

⁸ *Hesperia*, Vol. III, 1934, p. 447.

SOME NOTES ON THE CHESTER BEATTY GOSPELS AND ACTS

FREDERIC G. KENYON

In my edition of the Chester Beatty papyrus of the Gospels and Acts (*P* 45), statistics were given of the agreements and disagreements of the papyrus with the principal uncial Mss. and the *textus receptus* in the several books. It has occurred to me that it ought to be of interest also to compare the text of the papyrus with the modern revised texts principally in use. I have therefore noted the agreements and disagreements of the papyrus with the following four editions of the Gospels, in the case of all the variants recorded in my *apparatus criticus*: (1) Westcott and Hort, 1881; (2) the text which underlies the English Revised Version, as published in Souter's Oxford Greek Testament, 1910; (3) Nestle's Stuttgart Greek Testament, 3rd ed., 1927; (4) von Soden, 1913. These four editions are based on somewhat different principles. Westcott and Hort is based on the principle that the best text is, with few exceptions, to be found in the Alexandrian family (which they call Neutral), headed by the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus Mss., and predominantly in the Vaticanus. The Revisers were strongly influenced by Westcott and Hort, but did not always follow them; their text is therefore a modified Alexandrian type. Nestle, desiring as complete "objectivity" as possible, took the three editions of Tischendorf (1869-72), Westcott and Hort, and Weiss (1894-1900), and followed in each case the verdict of the majority. Von Soden prepared his own text in accordance with his own judgment, based upon a somewhat different classification of the authorities from that of Westcott and Hort.

Ignoring Matthew, of which the remains in the papyrus are too scanty to justify any conclusions, the figures are as follows:

In Mark:

	<i>With papyrus</i>	<i>Against papyrus</i>
WH.....	52	136
RV.....	54	134
Nestle.....	51	137
Soden.....	57	131

In Luke:

	<i>With papyrus</i>	<i>Against papyrus</i>
WH.....	151	241
RV.....	157	235
Nestle.....	149	243
Soden.....	154	238

In John:

WH.....	36	72
RV.....	33	75
Nestle.....	37	71
Soden.....	41	67

The first result that strikes the eye is the very small amount of difference between the four editions. In spite of their difference in method, all are substantially representations of the Alexandrian type of text. The readings of the true "Western" text (represented mainly by D and the Old Latin, and those of the Old Syriac version where they differ from the Alexandrian) are generally ignored; so that the reader of any one of these four editions has before him substantially the same text. From this the text of the papyrus differs materially. Even if the readings peculiar to the papyrus (which are 30 in Mark, 116 in Luke and 25 in John) are subtracted from the column of disagreements, the divergence is considerable. The proportion, however, is not the same in all the Gospels. Deducting the singular readings of the papyrus, the disagreements in Mark outnumber the agreements in the proportion of two to one: in Luke, they are a little less than equal; in John they are about four to three.

Since the four editions with which comparison has been made are all representatives of the Alexandrian text, it would be desirable to compare the text of the papyrus also with editions of the so-called Western and Caesarean texts, so as to determine whether its divergence from the Alexandrian arises from a leaning to either of these families. For such a comparison, full materials are not available, for no full editions of these texts exist. It is, however, possible to compare the papyrus in Luke with Blass' edition of the Western text of this Gospel, and since this is the Gospel which is best represented in the papyrus, and is also the Gospel in which the characteristics of the Western text are most strongly marked, the comparison may be accepted as valid. It is true that Blass' constitution of the

Western text is rather arbitrary, but it is not likely that this would seriously affect the results of the present comparison. Any other edition of the Western text would probably differ as much from the Alexandrian, although the details of the divergence might vary.

The statistical result of a comparison of the text of the papyrus with Westcott and Hort, as representing the Alexandrian text, and Blass, as representing the Western, is as follows:

Papyrus with WH against B.....	218
Papyrus with B against WH.....	69
Papyrus with both against others.....	75
Papyrus against both.....	147

It is evident therefore that if the papyrus is not wholly Alexandrian, it is still less Western; and it may be added that its agreements with Blass' text are all in respect of small details. Not one of the larger Western divergences occurs in it.

With regard to the Caesarean text, no adequate comparison can be made until Professor and Mrs. Lake have produced their much-desired edition of Mark in this form. The comparison with the manuscripts already given in my edition of the papyrus shows, however, that in Mark the papyrus has a strong Caesarean flavor; and this may go far to account for its divergence from the Alexandrian type in this book. Whether its lesser degree of divergence in Luke and John is due to its being less Caesarean in these books, or to the Caesarean text itself being nearer to the Alexandrian in them, is a problem that must remain undetermined until the Caesarean text elsewhere than in Mark has been investigated.

In the case of Acts, the comparison is made with Westcott and Hort and Clark's edition of the Western text, with these results:

Papyrus with WH against C.....	203
Papyrus with C against WH.....	25
Papyrus with both against others.....	51
Papyrus against both.....	101

The conclusion here is even more decisive against the Western text. Such agreements as there are with it are in small details; and in no single instance does the papyrus contain any of the readings printed by Clark in thicker type as characteristically Western. The readings in which the papyrus disagrees with both are almost always of small importance, and in general it may be said that it

has a substantially Alexandrian text with an admixture of individual variants.

It is of course to be remembered that this is only a single manuscript, produced probably in some provincial center in Egypt. If the Michigan papyrus edited by Sanders, containing some verses of Acts xviii and xix, or the Roman papyrus edited by Vitelli, containing verses of xxiii, had been preserved to any substantial extent, the picture would have been quite different. All that can be said is that the Beatty papyrus proves the existence of a manuscript of the early third century in Egypt which in Mark has a strong Caesarean flavor, which in Luke and John is predominantly Alexandrian with an admixture of minor Western readings and individual variants, which in Acts is mainly Alexandrian, and which in no case countenances the more outstanding variants of the Western text. But predominantly Alexandrian though it is, it shows that in the third century there were a number of minor variants in circulation which did not eventually find a home in any of the text families which we have learnt to recognize.

CODICES 157, 1071 AND THE CAESAREAN TEXT

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In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, XIV. 52 (Oct. 1912) and the two following numbers, there was printed a new collation by H. C. Hoskier of Codex 157, which has long been known to have a specially interesting text.

It occurred to me to compare Hoskier's collation with the reconstruction of the "Caesarean" text of three chapters of Mark (i, vi and xi) given by K. Lake, R. P. Blake and S. New in the *Harvard Theological Review*, Oct. 1928. To my no small surprise I discovered that the non-Byzantine readings of this MS. (apart from peculiarities which for the most part are clearly scribal errors) are with few exceptions identical in mark with those of the "Caesarean" text as reconstructed by Lake and his collaborators.

Even the exceptions tend to disappear under a closer scrutiny, e.g.: (1) Hoskier's collation is with the *Textus Receptus*; and there are slight differences between this and the standard Byzantine text. Hence in Mk. i. 5, vi. 2 and vi. 44 the readings of 157 quoted by Hoskier are the standard Byzantine readings, and, therefore, (for a comparison of 157 with the Byzantine text) should be ignored. (2) In certain other cases (e.g. Mk. i. 13, 19, 27) the reading of 157 occurs in *fam.* 1424 (Soden's *I^φ* group), which in my book *The Four Gospels* I showed to belong to the "Caesarean" group.

It will be remembered that 157 is notable for having at the end of all four Gospels the so-called Jerusalem colophon, stating that the MS. "was copied and corrected from ancient exemplars from Jerusalem preserved on the Holy Mountain." This same colophon appears, but at the end of Mark only, in 565. It was shown by Lake, Blake and New in the notable number of the *Harvard Theological Review* referred to above that 565 is for Mark the least Byzantinized authority for the "Caesarean" text.

The meaning of the colophon is discussed by K. Lake in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3 (April, 1900), p. 445. Lake holds that the "Holy Mountain" is Mt. Sinai, and that its

monastery possessed certain ancient MSS. brought from Jerusalem. We know that the Codex Sinaiticus was at Caesarea in the fifth century; so there is evidence that MSS. from Palestine did find their way to Sinai.

The colophon is found in at least thirteen MSS., two of which are of special interest—namely, the Mount Athos (Laura) MS. 1071; and the curious ninth-century MS. of which one-half (known as Δ) is written in uncial and the other half (known as 566) in minuscule. K. Lake, in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* (Oxford, 1903), published a description and collation of 1071. From a cursory glance at this I long ago concluded that the non-Byzantine element in this MS. was "Caesarean." I have recently checked this conclusion for Mark i, vi and xi against Lake's reconstruction of the "Caesarean" text in the *Harvard Theological Review*. This reexamination confirms my previous view.

With 1071 von Soden classes, in a small sub-division of his *I* text, the uncial MS. U; so U may also safely be added to the "Caesarean" witnesses. The presumption that Δ and the other MSS. which have the Jerusalem colophon preserve a few "Caesarean" readings is a strong one. Indeed, it is my own belief that the Purple MSS. N, Σ , O and Φ , and most (if not all) of the minuscules which von Soden assigned to his *I* text, are really "Caesarean" MSS.—only with a much larger Byzantine element than the authorities on which Lake bases his reconstruction.

The value of these "weak" supporters to the "Caesarean" text, including *fam.* 1424, is that they appear occasionally to preserve a "Caesarean" reading which has been revised out of the more important authorities for that text, viz. Θ , *fam.* 1, *fam.* 13, 28, 565, 700, W^{mk} , Old Georgian. That some of the readings in the inferior authorities are authentically "Caesarean" is shown by the fact that they appear in quotations by Origen and Eusebius. Unless, however, a reading found only in these inferior authorities is supported by such a quotation, it is not safe to accept it as "Caesarean."

The great error of von Soden was pointed out by K. Lake and R. P. Blake in the *Harvard Theological Review*, July 1923. He included in one "*I*" text the "Caesarean" MSS., and along with them the texts of the Codex Bezae and of the Old Latin and Syriac versions.

He is not the only scholar who has met his Waterloo in the attempt to account for, or explain away, the existence of the Bezan text.

A THIRD CENTURY PAPYRUS OF MATTHEW AND ACTS

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Under the inventory number 6652 of the Michigan Collection are placed two dim and tattered papyrus fragments, one 5 x 4 in. (13 x 10 cm.), containing Matthew xxvi. 29-35; 36-40, and the other, 4½ x 4 in. (11½ x 10 cm.), containing Acts ix. 34-38; ix. 40-10. 1.

The order of the text shows that verso precedes recto in each fragment and this relative position is supported in the Acts fragment by the preservation of the right margin on the verso and of the left margin on the recto. In the Matthew fragment there is not enough margin preserved on either side for us to distinguish between binding edge and outer edge. This order, verso-recto, implies that each fragment is from the first half of a quire.

The papyrus of the Matthew fragment is thin, of a brown color, and smooth surface. The Acts fragment is thicker, has a slightly rougher surface, and its color is grayish brown. The two fragments were not parts of the same double leaf, nor even, as we shall see later, of the same quire, though the whole of one fragment and half of the other came to us as a part of a single purchase, which suggests that they were found together. The University obtained this group of papyri in the summer of 1934 through the good offices of the British Museum, to which they had been offered by an Egyptian dealer. Dr. H. I. Bell, who made the report, considered the Matthew and Acts fragments parts of the same manuscript. Even after the difference in papyrus was observed, I was not able to find any consistent or characteristic differences in the writing of the two fragments. The slight variations are amply accounted for by the difference in surface of the two papyri. As the two fragments are in the same hand and were found together, it therefore seems probable, but not certain, that they were once parts of the same manuscript, which in that case perhaps contained the four Gospels and Acts, a combination found in Codex Bezae and in P. Beatty I. Furthermore, our fragments were not parts of a single quire manu-

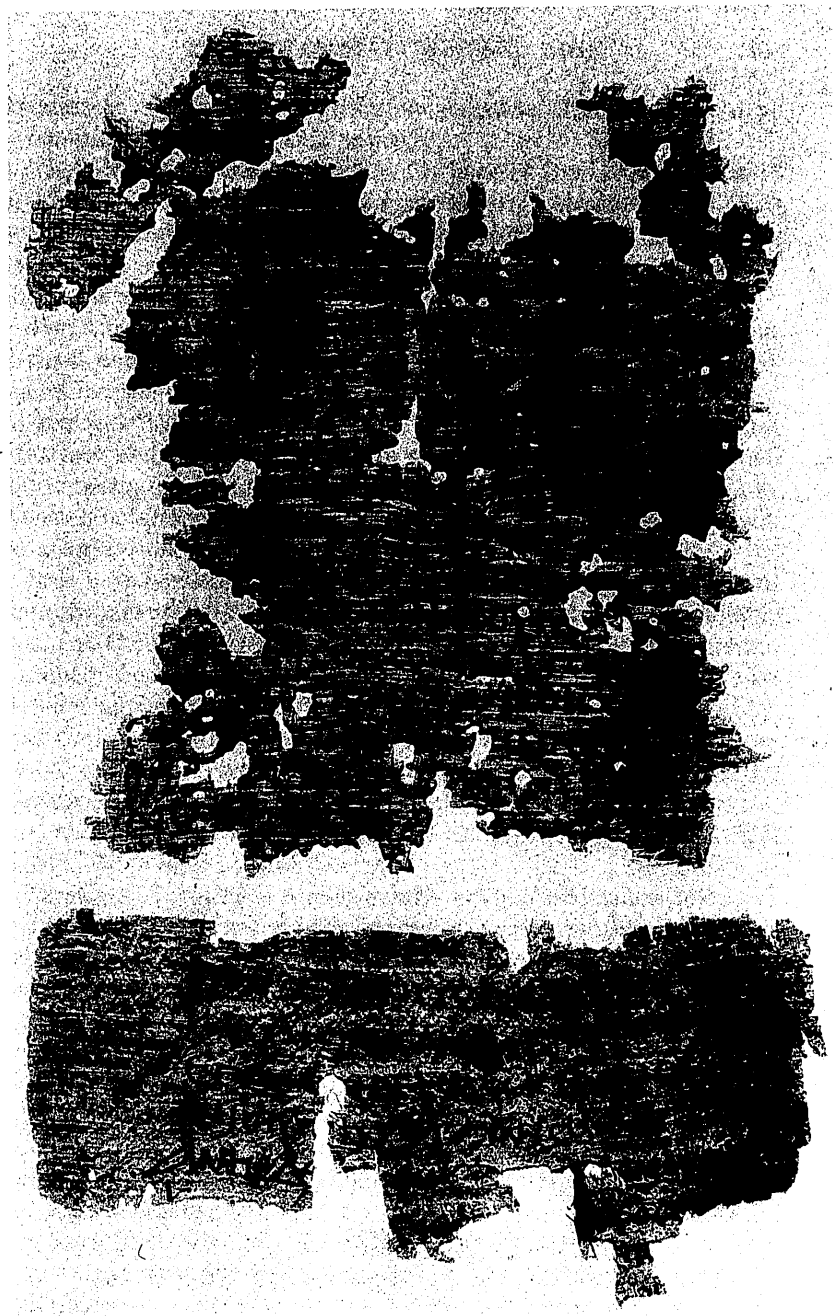
script, a common form in third-century papyri, but there must have been several quires, if all were of the same size, for the small fragment containing Acts ix. 36 and the following is from the first half of a quire, as noted above. In fact, the manuscript may have been formed of many small quires, as P. Beatty I, which is made up of two leaf quires.

After my study of these fragments had been supposedly completed, our Curator of Papyri, Dr. Husselman, called my attention to some small fragments of Acts, which came to the University in a collection of Coptic and Arabic papyri bought in the fall of 1934 by Mr. Enoch E. Peterson, Director of the Michigan excavation at Kom Aushim. Examination showed that these three small fragments belonged together and formed the upper half of the Acts fragment of this study, adding in somewhat fragmentary form nine lines on the verso and eight on the recto. The two fragments fit perfectly in both text and papyrus, but I do not show the added fragments in the facsimiles, as we have not been able in the absence of Mr. Swain to duplicate the excellence of the photographs already secured.

The fragments of Matthew and Acts are from leaves of the same size. Calculating the size of the original page from the beginning of the verso fragment to the beginning of the recto in each fragment they are found to cover approximately sixteen lines of the Scrivener text in each case.

In the Matthew fragment twenty lines are preserved on the verso and nineteen on the recto. One hundred forty-three letters of the text are lost between the verso and recto. Therefore there are six lines lost, since the average number of letters per line is 24 on the verso and 23 on the recto. This page of Matthew contained originally either 25 or 26 lines.

The figures total approximately the same for the Acts fragment. Parts or all of 17 lines of approximately 25 letters each are preserved on the verso and 16 lines of 26 letters each on the recto. Two hundred letters according to both the Scrivener and the Westcott and Hort texts are missing between the two fragments. About a dozen letters are needed to complete the last line on the verso, but nevertheless a loss of eight lines of the manuscript must be assumed. There was space in this lacuna for not more than 15 letters of "Western" addition or paraphrase. As the codex Bezae fails here there is no certain witness to the Western text, but the



Matthew XXVI. 29-35
Acts IX. 41—X. 1

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unanimity of the later manuscripts suggests that there were no pronounced variants in this passage.

The addition of the hypothetical 8 lines of the lacuna to the 16 or 17 lines of the two fragments gives an original page length of 24 or 25 lines, which is near enough to the size of the page in Matthew to warrant our continuing to consider the two fragments parts of the same manuscript.

The small size of the leaf argues against the inclusion of all four Gospels and Acts in one manuscript, for it would require some 250 leaves for the four Gospels and 75 for Acts. Yet one dare not say that it was impossible. It is, however, rather more probable that Matthew and Acts were joined in a manuscript, which would call for somewhat less than 150 leaves of the size of these fragments. No such combination is known in extant manuscripts, yet it would be a logical one, where but the one Gospel was known.

It is now perhaps possible to add a word on the provenance of these fragments and the others bought with them. It is probable that the Cairo dealer, who sold his papyri to the British Museum, obtained them from the Fayūm. In fact, as the Cairo dealer sold Greek fragments to the British Museum, and the Fayūm dealer only Coptic and Arabic papyri to Mr. Peterson, it seems more than probable that the whole lot was at one time in the hands of the Fayūm dealer. The Cairo dealer bought only the Greek fragments, but whoever made the division overlooked one, which, somewhat broken, came later to Mr. Peterson.

The type of writing is a semi-cursive with considerable linking of certain letters. In general the letters are fairly upright and of even size. Phi extends well below the line, and somewhat above. Rho and rarely iota reach below the line. Alpha has a curved loop, except for two cases of the angular form which are enlarged at the beginnings of lines. Both forms of kappa occur, but the uncial form is more common and at the beginning of lines it is enlarged. Epsilon regularly reaches well above the following letter. Omicron is of even size except for a couple of enlarged initials. Delta generally forms a ligature with the following letter, thus making the right hand side of the letter incomplete. These characteristics as well as others point to the middle of the third century for the date. Somewhat similar specimens of writing are found in the Heroninos correspondence of the Florentine Papyri, Vol. II, which are dated around 260 A.D.

There is no punctuation by the first hand. There are rather doubtful dots at the ends of lines 13 and 14 of the verso of the Acts fragment. I am not sure that these dots were made with ink, but, if so, the ink was very much paler than the writing of the fragment. There seem to be two cases of an apostrophe, one after $\alpha\lambda\lambda$ of line 15 of the recto of the Matthew fragment and the other after $\sigma\upsilon\chi$ of line 18 of the same page. Both are unusual in shape but in the same ink as the rest of the writing. There are no breathings or accents. The only abbreviations are $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$ and $\overline{\pi\epsilon\rho}$. The one case of correction by a second hand, $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ added after $\overline{\pi\epsilon\rho}$ of line 12 of the Matthew fragment, recto, is in slightly paler ink. It is probably contemporary.

Matthew, verso, xxvi. 29–35

$\epsilon\kappa$] τουτου τ[ου γεννηματος της αμ]
 $\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ εω[s της ημερ]ας εκειν[ης
 οταν α[υτο πινω μεθ] γμων κ[αι
 νον εν τη β[ασι]λ[εια του] $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$ μου
³⁰κ]αι υμνησαντε[s] ε[ξηλθο]ν εις το
 ορος των ελαιων ³¹τοτε λεγει αυ
 τοις ο $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ παντες υμεις σκανδα
 λισθησεσθε εν εμοι εν τη νυκτι
 τα]υτη γεγραπται γαρ παταξω τον
 ποιμενα και διασκορπισθησιν
 τα]ι τα προβατα της ποιμνης ³²με
 τα] δε εγερθηναι με προαξω υμας
 εις] την γαλιλαιαν ³³αποκριθεις δε
 ο πετρ]ος ειπεν αυτω ει παντες
 σ]κανδαλισθησονται εγω εν σοι
 ου]δεποτε σκανδαλισθησομαι
³⁴εφη αυτω ο $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ αμην λεγω σοι
 οτι ε[ν τ]αυτη τη νυκτι πριν αλε
 κτορα φωνησαι [τ]ρεις απαρνη
 σει μ[ε] ³⁵λεγ[ει] α]υτ[ω]

Matthew, recto, xxvi. 36–40

τ]α[ις αυτου καθισατε] αυτον ε[ω]ς
 ου αν α[πελθων εκει] προσευξ[ω]

μαι ³⁷κ[αι παραλα]βων τον πετρον
 και [το]υ[ς] δ[υο] νι[ο]υ[ς] ζεβεδαιου
 ηρξατο λυπεισθαι και αδημ[ο] 5
 νειν ³⁸τοτε λεγει αυτοις περιλυ
 πος εστιν η ψυχη μου εως θα
 νατου μεινατε ωδε και γρηγο
 ρειτε μετ εμου ³⁹και προσελθ[ων]
 μικρον επεσεν επι πρ[οσ]ω[πον] 10
 αυτου προσευχομενος κ[α]ι
 λεγων ^μερ ει δυνατον εστ[ιν]
 παρελθτω απ εμου το π[ο]τηριον
 τουτο πλην ουχ ως εγω θελ[ω]
 αλλ' ως συ ⁴⁰και ερχεται προς το[υς] 15
 μαθητας και ευρισκει αυτους
 καθευδοντας και λεγει τω
 πετρω ουτως ουχ' ισχυσατε
 μιαν [ωραν γρηγ]ορησα[ι] μετ [ε] 20
 [μου] 20

line 12. The added *μου* is by a different hand but probably contemporary.

Acts, verso, ix. 33-38

³⁸ετ[ων]
 os] ην[.
 ι[η]ς [ο χρ[ς]] ανα
³⁴στηθι και στρωσον] σεαυτω και ευ
 θεως ανεστη ³⁵και] ειδον α[ν]τον
 παντες οι κατο[ι]κοι της λυδ
 δαν και σαρωνα οιτινες επεστρεψαν 5
 επι τον κν ³⁶εν ιοπη δε τις ην μαθη
 τρια ταβειθα η διερμηνευομ[ενη] λε
 γεται δορκας αυτη ην πληρη[ς] αγα
 θων εργων και ελεημοσυνη[ων] 10
 επ[οι]ε[ι] ³⁷ε]γε[ν]ετο δε εν ταις ημε
 ραις εκειναις ασθενησασαν αυ
 την αποθανειν λουσαντες δε
 αυτην εθηκαν εν τω υπερω
³⁸εγγυς δε ουσης λυδδας τη ιοπη.
 οι μαθηται [α]κουσαντ[ες] οτι πε 15

προς εστιν ε[ν αυτ]η απ[εστειλαν
[δυο ανδρ]ας α[ντω

line 1. Between ι]ης and ανα there is space for four letters.

Acts, recto, ix. 40-x. 1

]ν αν[ηγαγον

⁴⁰εκβα[λων δε εξω παντας ο πε
προς και θεις τ[α γονατα προσηυξατο
και επ[ι]στρεψ[ας προς το σωμα ειπεν
ταβειθα αναστηθι η δε ηνοιξε
τους οφθαλμους αυτης και ιδουσα
τον π[ε]τρον ανεκαθισεν ⁴¹δους δε
αυτη [χει]ρα ανεστησεν αυτην φω
νησας δε] τους αγ[ι]ους και τας χηρας
παρεστησεν αυτ[ην ζωσα]ν ⁴²γνω
στον δε εγενετο καθ ολης ιωππης
και επιστευσαν πολλοι επι τον κν
⁴³εγενετο δε ημερας ικανας μειναι
εν ιωππη παρα τινι σιμωνι βυρσει
⁴⁴αυτην δε [τι]ς εν κα[ισαρι]α ονοματι
Κ[ορνηλιου]ς εκατ[οντα]ρχος εκ σ[υ]ρει
[ρης της καλουμενης ιτα]λικ[ης] . .

5

10

15

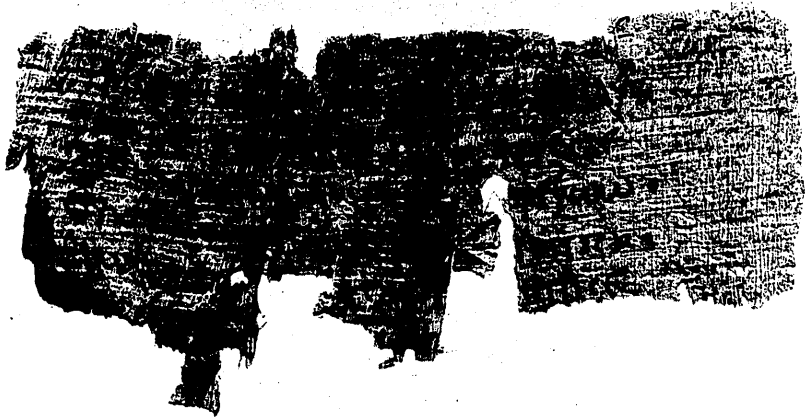
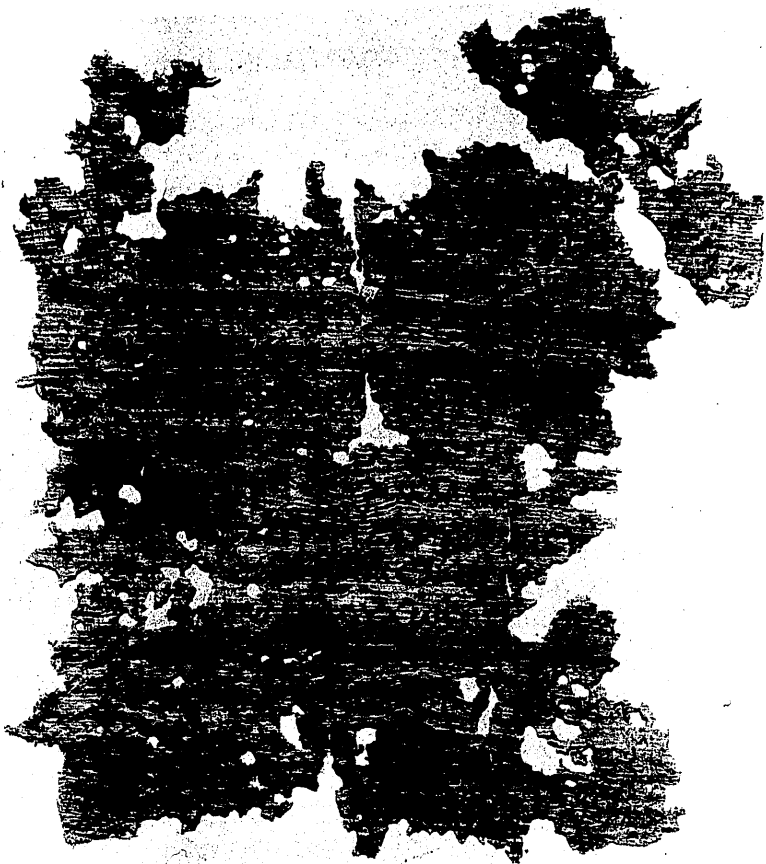
line 1. As the line is too short probably χηρας was inserted after παντας.

There are nineteen variants to be considered in the Matthew fragment. They are listed here with the manuscript support for or against each. The manuscripts are numbered according to the system of Gregory (*Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908).

Matthew

xxvi. 29. order μεθ] υμων κ[αι]νον against C L Z 1 28 33 118 209 440
472 521 1273 1318 1582

31. διασκορπισθησονται = Ν A B C G H* I L M W 13 33 47



Matthew XXVI. 36-40
Acts IX. 33-38

τρος εστιν ε[ν αυτ]η απ[εστειλαν
[δυο ανδρ]ας α[ντω

line 1. Between ι]ης and ανα there is space for four letters.

Acts, recto, ix. 40-x. 1

]ν αν[ηγαγον

⁴⁰εκβα[λων δε εξω παντας ο πε
τρος και θεις τ[α γονατα προσηυξατο
και επ[ι]στρεψα[ς προς το σωμα ειπεν
ταβειθα αναστηθι η δε ηνοιξε
τους οφθαλμους αυτης και ιδουσα 5
τον π[ε]τρον ανεκαθισεν ⁴¹δους δε
αυτη [χει]ρα ανεστησεν αυτην φω
νησας δε] τους αγ[ι]ους και τας χηρας
παρεστησεν αυτ[ην ζωσα]ν ⁴²γνω
στον δε εγενετο καθ ολης ιοππη 10
και επιστευσαν πολλοι επι τον κν
⁴³εγενετο δε ημερας ικανας μειναι
εν ιοππη παρα τινι σιμωνι βυρσει
x.1 αυηρ δε [τι]ς εν κα[ισαρι]α ονοματι
Κ[ορνηλιου]ς εκατ[οντα]ρχος εκ σπει 15
[ρης της καλουμενης ιτα]λικ[ης] .

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[illegible]

51 52 54 58 69 74 90 118 124 150 157 174 230 234 243 248
251 252** 262 346 508 543 544 700 788 826 828 983 1438
lect 21 24 36 44 49

33. *ει* against *ει και* of **N**^o F K Π 33 489 etc It Arm Aeth Pal
Syr Or Bas Chr (= Mark)
τρ *εγω εν σοι* sol; cf. Syr^a F 1689 which add *εν σοι* after
σκανδαλισθησομαι.
εγω (against *εγω δε*) = **N** A B C* D I L S V Δ Π Θ fam 1
fam 13 (exc. 69) 33 etc It Vg Syr² Or
34. *εν* (before *ταυτη*) against D a b c ff² h q fu Chr om (a
Latinism; D influenced by d)
τρεις (against *τρεις*) = 69
απαρνησει (against *απαρνηση*) = B C Θ 28 262 477 al
Vg It (cf. 69² *απαρνησοι*)
order *απαρνησει* [με] against **N*** 33 157 It Vg Or Hil
36. *μαθητ*[a[is + *αυτου*] = **N** A C D W 1 12 36 37 40 59 61 64
116 118 131 209 237 245 251 253 259 433 517 544 700 1582
lect 36 44 46 47 49 63 150 It Vg Cop Syr² Aeth Hil
(*καθισατε*) + *αυτου* (against **N** C* 61 300 om)
*ε[ω]*s ου αν = A (*εως ου* = B + Antiochian) (*εως αν* =
Western + W 157) (*εως* = **N** C* M* 22 28 33 lect 150 etc
Alexandrian?)
order [*εκει*] *προσευξ[ω]*μαι = **N** B D L Θ 33 69 102 157
346 It Vg Sah Cop Aeth Or Hil
38. om ο ις = **N** A B C* D I L W Θ fam 1 33 44 69 124 174
435 543 788 983 It Vg Syr Sah Cop Arm Aeth Chr
39. *προσελθων* (against *προελθων*) = **N** A C D I L W Γ Δ Θ Π²
unc^a 1 33 69 124 131 209 299 435 440 477 489 507 508 700
al lect multi (150 181 185)
(*πατερ*) om μου man 1 = L Δ δ 1 209 218 Vg (A F L R*
X* Y) a Just Valent in Ir Or Eus Ath Did Cyr Bas Chr
Cyp Hil Hier Aug + μου man 2 = all other MSS
παρελθετω (against *παρελθατω* of **N** A C D F L 33 124) =
B H I K M S V Γ Π 21 28 69 372 399 544 565 700 892
1241 1542 1689 fam 1 and all Antiochian
40. *τω πετρω* (against *αυτοις* of E K M Π 13 15 27 40 60 61 68
69 73 125 174 230 248 346 348 489 543 788 826 828 983
1194 1579 1604 1689)
ουχ for *ουκ* sol

ισχυσατε (against *ισχυσας* of A 1396 ff² g² gat Arm Harcl^m
Chr Juvene)

The number of agreements of the papyrus readings with the older manuscripts and groups are as follows:

N	11	fam 1	11
A	12	fam 13	12
B	13	MS 33	9
D	11	MS 28	9
W	11	MS 700	9
Θ	12		

There are two readings, one a transposition and the other a wrong spelling, for which I have found no support. The spelling *τρεῖς* in xxvi. 34, is recorded only for MS 69, but I place little weight on this agreement as it is only an itacistic error which is generally not listed in collations. The special agreement in xxvi. 36 with MS A is important, though the papyrus reading must remain somewhat doubtful. It seems to be a conflation of two readings, *εως ου* and *εως αυ*, which are shown by the support respectively of B and W to have circulated in Egypt. Of the nineteen readings listed above eleven were adopted by the Alexandrian text, eleven by the Antiochian, and fifteen by one or more members of the Caesarean family. If in similar manner we bring into comparison all manuscripts which at times are free from the influence of the Alexandrian and Antiochian recensions, all except three of the readings of the papyrus will be found supported by the "uncorrected" group.

These relationships are not due to chance. The papyrus is older than either the Alexandrian or Antiochian recension. It came from Egypt and so naturally represents the early Egyptian text. But many variations must have existed in that text before the Alexandrian recension. The Alexandrian editors had access to many such manuscripts as our papyrus and so must not be considered guilty of inventing Scripture, when they differ. The closeness of agreement between the older papyri and the Alexandrian text may be interpreted to mean that the basic Egyptian text was less corrupt than the text that circulated in other provinces and that the editors were in the main conservative.

In the fragment of Acts there are twenty-eight text variants of importance.

Acts

- ix. 34. ι] $\overline{\eta\varsigma}$ (against 216 614 1518 al³ om)
[ο $\overline{\chi\rho\varsigma}$] (addition of article assumed from space) = A B³ E
H L P 81 614 and most minusc Did Chr Thphyl
σεαυτω (against L 42, σεαυτον)
35. ειδον (against ειδαν) = \aleph E H L P and all minuscules (against A B C)
λυδδαν = C E H L P most minusc (against λυδδα of \aleph A B
33 61 181 326 424 460)
om τον before σαρωνα = \aleph^*
σαρωνα = (\aleph A) B C E 642 Vg (e) Thphyl
36. om ονοματι sol
ταβειθα = B C
order αγαθων εργαων = \aleph A H L P 81 614 etc
37. order αυτην εθηκαν = \aleph^c C E and most minuscules, including
383 467 614 1518
+ τω (υπερω) = A C E 18 103 181 201 205 206 242 328 429
440 441
38. λυδδας (for λυδδης) = \aleph^* B^{*} C 81
[δυο ανδρ]ας = \aleph A B C E 69 81 383 489 614 1518 etc Vg Bas
Chr
α[υτω] for προς αυτον sol
40. [παντες + χηρας?] sol
+ και before θεις = \aleph A B C E 81 104 181 209^{*} 242 307 429
441 464 Syr Cop Thphyl
ταβειθα = B
αναστηθι (om add of Harel Sah Arm Amb Cyp)
ηνοιξεν (om παραχορημα of E Sah Aeth)
41. δε (against τε of A 1518 Syr Aeth OL)
φω[νησας δε] (against και φωνησας of 33 431 614 1518 OL Vg
Sah Harel Syr Chr)
42. om της = B C^{*}
order επιστευσαν πολλοι = \aleph A B C E 69 81 181 429 467 522
915 917 1739 1758 1829 1874 1891 1898 2298 Vg Sah Cop Arm
43. ικανας (against τινας of C I^a of von Soden, and Andreas Com-
mentary)

εγενετο δε (om αυτον) = N* B 3 209* 216 1175 1739 (Ant tr αυτον)

x. 1. δε τις (om ην) = N A B C E L 0142 3 33 35* 36* 61 81 94 101* 103 104 181 209 307 327 328 378 463 464*

εκατο[ντα]ρχος] (for εκατονταρχης) = 1898; cf Mt 8, 5 where all read εκατονταρχος except N* 892 1429 and a few others.

There are the following numbers of agreements with the more important manuscripts:

N	16	E	15
A	13	MS 81	13
B	16	fam 614	13
C	16	MS 69	9

As noted above there is a lacuna in Codex Bezae in this portion of the text, so the most complete witness of the so-called Western text is lacking. But that lack is not very important, for there do not seem to have been any striking variants in this brief bit of text. Most of the important variants are supported by both the Alexandrian and the so-called Western text, while but five have full Antiochian support. The spelling λυδδας in ix. 38 and the omission of the article in ix. 42 might seem pure Alexandrian changes, but they are better explained as Egyptian variants, which survived in a few Alexandrian manuscripts.

A similar explanation may be given for the spelling εκατο[ντα]ρχος in x. 1, which is supported by MS 1898 alone. This variation is probably due to the influence of Matthew viii. 5, and so is a characteristic "Western" change. Also MS 1898 is von Soden's 70 in the group I^{a1}, which is his equivalent of the "Western." The omission of the article before σαρωνα in ix. 35, supported by N* only, and the spelling ταβειθα with B C, are also examples of the uncorrected Egyptian text.

In ix. 38 α[ντω] for προς αυτον is a doubtful reading, but προς was certainly omitted in this place as almost all of the left loop of α is visible. The substitution of the dative for προς with the accusative after αποστελλω is a characteristic Egyptian change, though there is no authority for it here. This construction appears three times in the New Testament and over forty times in the Septuagint.

Mayser, *Gram. d. Gr. Pap. a. d. Ptolemaerzeit*, II, 2, p. 242, notes it as common in the papyri.

Another unsupported reading is the omission of *ονοματι* in ix. 36. A doubtful reading is the addition of some word as *χηρας* after *παρες* in ix. 40. Such an addition is without support, but seems required by the space. Such changes as these are often found in the so-called Western or ante-recension text.

So far as the scanty evidence of these small fragments of Matthew and Acts permits us to judge, the text must be considered the same. It is another example of the characteristic third-century text of Egypt.

P 50. TWO SELECTIONS FROM ACTS

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DESCRIPTION

The document here published for the first time was acquired by Yale University at Paris in 1933, together with a number of other texts of Egyptian provenience. In the University's collection it bears the number P 1543; for purposes of New Testament textual criticism, however, it may be referred to most conveniently as P 50, the number assigned to it by the late Prof. von Dobschütz in the official list of New Testament papyri. At present it consists of two separate pieces of papyrus measuring 8.8 x 13.8 cm., both opisthographs with the script running parallel to the short sides. Originally the two pieces formed one sheet approximately 17.6 cm. wide and 13.8 cm. high, folded down the middle¹ to make a two-leaf booklet.

The material is coarse and the surface rough. The fibers at the left end of the *recto* had already torn away completely before its use. This weakened the surface of the *verso*, so that its right end eventually broke rather badly. But it is doubtful whether any of the breakage occurred before the sheet was inscribed, for the continuity of the text is disturbed by it scarcely at all.²

On each of the four pages of the two-leaf booklet was written one column of text, Columns I and IV on the *recto*, II and III on the *verso*. The columns vary in length, Column I on the first page comprising 22 lines, Columns II and III each 21 lines, and Column IV only 6 lines. The lines are still less uniform, their length ranging from 14 to 25 (?) letters, with the average approximately 18. Column I shows not only the largest number of lines, but also a

¹ This is shown by the fact that two of the long sides of the pieces match, and that at least two of the strokes begun on one piece carry over to the other.

² The writer took no pains to make his lines of equal length. Only the division of *προσευ/χόμενος* in Col. III, 18-19, could be used to argue that the *verso* was already damaged when the sheet was used.

somewhat higher average in the number of letters per line, the first nine lines running well over 20 letters each. This is important for the reconstruction of Column I, 1, and indicates that the text actually begins at this point.

The text consists of two selections from Acts, namely, Acts 8: 26-32 and 10: 26-31. The first selection ends on l. 15 of Column II and is separated from the second by a horizontal stroke. Apparently the writer first introduced his dividing line in the wrong place, below line 14, crossed it out with a wavy line, and then added a second in the right place.³ The ink of Column III, and in a lesser measure of Column II, was not entirely dry when the second leaf of the booklet was folded back upon the first. Traces of the letters of Column III thus appear on Column II and vice versa. There are no similar traces upon either I or IV.

After the transcription of the text the booklet was folded five times horizontally to the text and thus compressed into a small flat bundle, approximately 2.5 x 9 cm. Later, perhaps, the folded papyrus tore from the bottom to a point about two-thirds of the way up, where irregularly-shaped holes appear. The two fissures (one in each leaf) were mended on the *recto*, the one at the left by a large piece of papyrus pasted along the bottom of the page, the one at the right by two narrow strips applied below lines 15 and 22 of Column I respectively. Fissures and holes have destroyed a surprisingly small proportion of the writing.

³ The end of the first dividing line is one of the strokes that carried over from one piece of the papyrus to the other, indicating that the two were originally part of one sheet.

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TEXT AND APPARATUS

Column I

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. [Ἄγγελος δὲ κ(υρίο)υ ἐλ]άλησεν[ν] πρὸς Φί- | Acts 8.26 |
| 2. [λ]ιππορ λέγων(·) ἀναστὰς πορ- | |
| 3. εὐθῆτι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν | |
| 4. ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνον- | |
| 5. σαν ἀπὸ Ἰ(ερουσα)λήμ εἰς Γάζαν· | |
| 6. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος(·) καὶ ἀνασ- | 27 |
| 7. τὰς ἐπορεῖθῃ· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀν- | |
| 8. ἡρ Α[!θ!]οψ [εῖ]νούχος δυνά[σ]- | |
| 9. τῆς Κανδάκης Βασιλίσσης | |
| 10. Αἰθιόπων ὅς ἦν ἐπὶ πά- | |
| 11. σης τῆς γάζης αὐτῆς | |
| 12. ὅς ἐληλύθει προσκυνή- | |
| 13. σων εἰς Ἰ(ερουσα)λήμ[·] οὗτος ὑποσ- | 28 |
| 14. τρέφων καθήμενος | |
| 15. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ | |
| 16. καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκον τὸν | |
| 17. προφήτην Ἡ[σ]αίαν· εἶπεν | 29 |
| 18. δὲ τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τῷ Φ[ι]λίππῳ(·) | |
| 19. πρόσελθε κα[ὶ] κολλήθη- | |
| 20. τι τῷ ἄρμα[τι] τούτῳ.- | |
| 21. προσελθ[ῶ]ν δὲ ὁ Φίλιπ- | 30 |
| 22. πος ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ ἀνα- | |

Column II

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----|
| 1. γινώσκοντος Ἡ[σ]αίαν τὸν] | |
| 2. προφήτην καὶ εἶπ[ε]ν τῷ | |
| 3. εἰνούχῳ(·) ἄρα γινώσκεις | |
| 4. ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις(;) ὁ δὲ εἰ- | 31 |
| 5. πέν· πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην | |
| 6. εἰ μὴ τις ὁδηγήσει με; | |
| 7. παρεκάλεσέν τε τὸν Φίλιπ- | |
| 8. πον ἀναβάντα καθίσαι | |
| 9. σὺν αὐτῷ. ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ | 32 |
| 10. τῆς γραφῆς ἣν ἀνεγίνωσ- | |
| 11. κεν ἦν αὕτη· ὥς πρόβα- | |
| 12. τον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη | |
| 13. καὶ ὥς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον | |

14. τοῦ κείρ[α]ντος αὐτόν
15. ἄφωνος(.)

16. Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἡγείρεν Acts 10.26
17. αὐτόν λέγων(·) ἀνάσ-
18. τηθι καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς
19. ἄν(θρῶπ)ός εἰμι(.) | καὶ συνο- 27
20. μιλῶν ἀβ[τ]ῷ εἰσήλ-
21. θον καὶ [ε]ὐρίσκε[ι] συν-

Column III

1. ἐλη[λυ]θότας πολλούς |
2. ἔφη γὰρ πρὸς αὐτούς(·) 28
3. ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὥς
4. ἀθέμιτόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ
5. Ἰουδαίῳ(?) κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προ[σ]-
6. ἐρχεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἀλλοφύ-
7. λῳ. κ[ἀ]μοὶ [δ] θ(εο)ς ἔδειξεν
8. μηδένα [κ]οινοῦν ἢ ἀκάθαρ-
9. τον λέγει[ν] ἄν(θρῶπ)ον | διὸ 29
10. καὶ ἀναγτιρήτως
11. ἦλθον μεταπεμφθεῖς(·)
12. πυνθάνομα[ι] οὖν τίνι [οὖν]
13. λόγῳ μετεπεΐμψασθέ
14. με; | ὁ δὲ Κορνήλιος ἔφη(·) 30
15. οπο(sic) τετάρτης ἡμέρας
16. μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ὥρας
17. ἡμην νηστ[ε]ύων καὶ
18. τὴν ἐννάτην προσευ-
19. χόμε[ν]ος ἐν [τ]ῷ οἴκῳ μου
20. καὶ ἰδ[ο]ὺν ἄνθρωπον ἑστηένῳπι-
21. ὅ[ν] μου ἐν αἰσθητι.-

Column IV

1. λαμπρᾶ | καὶ φησί[ν](·)Κ[ορ]- 31
2. νήλιε εἰσηκούσθη σου
3. ἡ προσευχή καὶ αἱ ἐλε-
4. ημοσύνη σου ἐμνήσ-
5. θησαν [τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ] ἐνώπιον
6. τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ(·)

8:26 *αναστας πορευθητι* D40: *αναστηθι και πορευου* NAB cet omn. 27 *βασιλισσης* codd omn exc D*; add *τινος* D*; *ος εληλυθει* N^oBC²D²: om. *ος* N*AC*D*; *εις Ιερουσαλημ* codd omn exc D*: om. *εις* D*. 28 *ουτος υποστρεφων*: *ην δε(τε) υποστρεφων* omn; *καθημενος* D* min: *και καθημενος* plur; *αυτου* codd omn exc D*: om D*; *και ανεγινωσκεν* N^oBC al plur: *αναγεινωσκων* D sah; *τον προφητην Ησαιαν* NABD (Ισαιαν) al: *Ησαιαν τον προφητην* C 31 sah. 30 *προσελθων*: *προσδραμων* omnes; *τω ευνουχω*: om omn; *αρα*: add *γε* omn. 31 *αν* codd omn exc A: om A; *οδηγησει* N^oB (B: *οδαγησει*) CE al: *οδηγηση* AB³HLP. 32 *κειραντος* NACEHL al: *κειροντος* BP al.

10:26 *ηγειρεν αυτον* NABCDE: *αυτον ηγειρεν* HLP etc.; *αναστηθι* codd omn exc D: *τι ποιεις* D; *και εγω* NBC 61: *καγω* ADHLP; *αυτος ειμι* plur: transp. *αυτος* ante *εγω* C, add *ως και συ* D*E. 27 *αυτω* codd omn exc D: om. D; *εισηλθεν και ευρισκει* plur: *και εισελθων τε και ευρεν* D. 28 *υμεις* plur: add *βελτιον* D; *ανδρι αλλοφυλω* D^o: om. *ανδρι* rel.; *ο θεος εδειξεν* BC (*επεδειξεν* D) HLP: *εδειξεν ο θεος* NAE al. 29 *μεταπεμφθεις* plur: add *υφ υμων* DE. 30 *ο δε Κορνηλιος*: *και ο Κορνηλιος* omn; *τεταρτης* plur: *της τριτης* D*; *ταυτης της* plur: *της αρτι* D; *ημην νηστευων και* A² (om. *και* DL) EHP: om. *νηστευων* NA*BC: *την εννατην* plur: add *τε* D.

NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPTION

Col. I, 1. As restored this line comprises 25 letters. In view of the crowding of the letters in the first nine lines (cf. above, p. 165) this is not unreasonable. But perhaps *αγγελος* was abbreviated *αγγ(ε)λ*os.

I, 5. In *εις* the long vertical stroke of the writer's uncial *iota* is superimposed upon a cursive form of the same letter.

I, 13. There is not enough room after *Ι(ερουσα)λημ* for the *ην* which text and grammar would lead one to expect at this point or in this vicinity. A punctuation mark (full stop) is probably all that has been lost here.

I, 16. In view of II, 1 and 10, *ανεγινωσκον* is probably an error for *ανεγινωσκεν*.

II, 5. Either the writer has incorrectly written *δυναμην*, which would not be unlike him, or the *iota* of *δυναίμην* is joined with *mu* in a ligature. In view of the ligature joining *mu* and *eta* he seems to deserve the benefit of the doubt at this point.

II, 10. *ανεγινωσκεν* was first written *αναγινωσκεν*.

II, 11. Like the dividing line between lines 14 and 15, the *alpha* of *πρόβατον* carries over to the second piece of papyrus, showing that the two were originally parts of one sheet.

II, 12. *σφαγήν* is improbable.

- II, 14. The upper left corner of the *alpha* of *κείρ[α]ντος* is visible at the left of the fissure; *αὐτόν* was first written *αὐτοῦ*, as *τοῦ* at the beginning of the line was first written *τόν*.
- II, 20. *Ἐισήλθον* probably an error for *εἰσῆλθεν*.
- III, 5. It is difficult to say what has been written here for *Ἰουδαίω*. Perhaps an original *Ἰουδαίω* was changed to *Ἰουδαίου* and corrected to *Ἰουδαίω* by the insertion above the line of a compressed *omega*.
- III, 8. *κοινόν* seems first to have been written *κοινοι* and then corrected by adding *iota* in the correct place above the line and changing final *iota* to *nu*.
- III, 12. The second *οὖν* has been deleted.
- III, 16. The *alpha* of *ταύτης* is superimposed upon an *eta*. Perhaps the writer began to write *μέχρι τῆς*, but caught himself in time.
- III, 17. The initial *nu* of *νηστεύων* is superimposed upon *tau*. Perhaps the writer began *ἡμην τὴν ἐννιάτην νηστεύων* and corrected himself.
- IV, 2. The *kappa* of *εἰσηκούσθη* is superimposed upon an indistinguishable letter.
- IV, 3. The *chi* of *προσευχῇ* is superimposed upon a *sigma*; *ai* may first have been *ω*.
- IV, 5. After *ἐμνήσθησαν* the copyist first wrote *τοῦ θ(εο)υ* in the cursive script into which he had fallen. Cursive *θ(εο)υ* was then changed to the uncial form, perhaps as being more appropriate to the importance of the word. Finally *τοῦ θ(εο)υ* was deleted and given its correct place in line 6. *Ἐνώπιον* was first written *ἐνωπίου*.

FORM AND DATE

The only available evidence of date is that supplied by the form in which the text is rendered.

The script stems ultimately from the *Schönschrift* of Greek literary manuscripts and its relationship to the best representatives of the so-called *Bibelstil* is not very close. A cursive strain enters into the composition of the script. This comes to clearest expression in what was begun as the last line of the whole text (Col. IV, 5). But it also affects individual letters and combinations of letters throughout. Cursive tendencies are most frequently to be seen in the forms of *α η λ μ π υ*. The letters of the diphthongs *ει* and

αι are almost invariably joined. τ μ κ γ θ followed by a vowel, and α followed by ρ are also often written in continuous form. In addition to this cursive element there is to be noted a degeneration in the uncial forms. χ ι κ and sometimes ε are relatively too large; ο is now and again left open at the top; γ and σ lean to the right; the tail of ρ drops below the line and the second foot of κ usually fails to touch it, much like the foot of ν. Moreover the lines are by no means straight or of uniform height. The general similarity of the hand to that of the rhetorical text, *Berliner Klassikertexte* V, 1, p. 82 ff, of the middle of the fourth century, is marked, and the writing should belong to the same general period.⁴

The question is whether the writer's knowledge of literary conventions and his purpose in the composition of the text corroborate the impression made by the script. In general it may be said that he knows the conventions of manuscript composition. He uses the familiar abbreviations: ἰλημ (Col. I, 5, 13); πνα (I, 18), ανος, ανον (Col. II, 19; III, 9), θς, θυ (III, 7; IV, 5, 6), [κν] (Col. I, 1).⁵ He carefully indents the last line in each column of text. His orthography, while not above reproach (cf. ἔδειξεν for ἔδειξεν III, 7, and αἰσθητι for ἐσθητι III, 21) is at times better than that of the great fourth-century codices (cf. ἀναγίνωσκειν I, 16, συνομιλῶν II, 19-20, and ἐννάτην III, 18, with ἀναγείνωσκειν, συνομιλῶν and ἐνάτην of B). He uses the dieresis in the fashion of the earlier manuscripts on words beginning with *iota* or *upsilon* whether followed by a vowel or not.⁶ Of punctuation he knows the dot, indiscriminately placed with reference to the line of script (I, 5, 7, 17, 20; II, 5, 9; III, 7), and the semicolon (III, 14; cf. II, 6 where it appears as a simple comma), but uses them less and less as his work progresses. The period seems to mark either a full or a half stop; the semicolon indicates a question.⁷ He does not use accents or breathings.

In view of the writer's knowledge of conventions, it seems pref-

⁴ W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 1911, no. 43a; for the date cf. id., *Griechische Palaeographie*, 1925, p. 138.

⁵ Traube, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-87.

⁶ Ἰ(επουσα)λήμ I, 5; Ἰουδαίω III, 5; Ἰδοῦ I, 7, III, 20; ὕμης III. It is omitted on the Ἰ(επουσα)λήμ of I, 13. Cf. on the use of the dieresis, Gregory, *Textkritik*, Vol. II, 1902, p. 905.

⁷ The system is thus more highly developed but less carefully followed than in the great uncial codices of the fourth century. Cf. Scrivener, *Criticism of the New Testament*, Vol. I, 1899, p. 48.

erable to suppose that the inelegancies of his product are the result of carelessness and haste, rather than the normal expression of a degenerate uncial tradition. He was accustomed to cursive writing, but acquainted with a good uncial script⁸, which he here handled in haphazard fashion. This general conclusion would agree with the existence in his transcription of a proportionately large number of errors carelessly corrected.

PURPOSE

One of the most vexing problems connected with the interpretation of P 50 is its *raison d'être*. What particular purpose could be served by this careless transcription of two selections from Acts in the general form and style of contemporary codices? A final answer to this question is scarcely to be given. It is clear that what we have before us is not a part of some more extensive composition whose significance would be clearer if more of it were preserved. The document is complete in itself as the way in which it was folded and the absence of impressions of previous columns of text upon pages 1 and 4 show. This and the extent of its selections make it thoroughly clear also that we are not dealing with a fragment of or an excerpt from a lectionary or menologion. True, Acts 8: 26, the passage with which P 50 opens, is the beginning of the lesson for the fifth day of the third octave of Easter in the ancient lectionary systems. But the pericope in question runs through 8: 39 whereas the selection of the papyrus stops at 8: 32. The corresponding lesson in Acts 10, for the third day of the fourth octave of Easter, comprises vss. 21-33, whereas the text of the papyrus begins at vs. 26, in the middle of the story, and ends at vs. 31.⁹ Finally, it is evident that the selections do not correspond, save at 8: 26, with any of the systems of *capitula* into which the text of Acts was divided in the more important of the ancient manuscripts.

Failing to find an explanation along these more obvious lines one turns naturally to such alternatives as exercise in handwriting or copying, and the production of an amulet. The difficulty with the former is the lack of effort on the copyist's part really to apply what he knows about the approved methods of composition. The

⁸ Schubart, *op. cit.*, Abb. 101, p. 144.

⁹ Cf. Gregory, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 1901, p. 345.

difficulty with the second is the innocuousness of the passages excerpted.¹⁰

The only other clue to the purpose of the document is the content of the selections themselves. Neither records in its entirety the narrative from which it is taken. Rather, they comprise just enough of the stories of Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch, and Peter and Cornelius, to show how two Christian apostles acting under divine instruction came to disregard the barriers imposed upon them by the Law and "attached themselves" to pagans. *Κολλαῶσθαι* is actually the one important word that appears in both selections. This being so it is not unreasonable to suggest that P 50 was written in service of missionary or homiletic purposes or both. It may be the work of a Christian preacher culling from a New Testament codex—or for that matter from a lectionary—materials for the instruction of his parishioners on the character and scope of Christian missions. Should this suggestion have any merit whatsoever, it would explain the carelessness in the script and the transcription. The document was intended for personal use, and the user's interest lay in the content of the selections it reproduced. Whether this definition of purpose would set any upper limits as to date, I am unable to say.

TEXTUAL AFFINITIES

The brief critical apparatus given above is sufficient to indicate where the affinities of the text lie. As we should expect, in a document of Egyptian provenience, they are distinctly outside the sphere of the "Western" text. True, there are three readings in which P 50 agrees with D against B^N but at least two of them are not serious. The omission of *καὶ* before *καθήμενος* (8:28) and the addition of *ἀνδρὶ* before *ἀλλοφύλῳ* (10:28) may have their origin in the writer's carelessness just as readily as in the text which he was copying. The third, *ἀναστὰς πορεύθητι* for *ἀναστήθι καὶ πορεύου* (8:26), is more serious, unless, indeed, it merely transfers to vs. 26 the

¹⁰ On the use of excerpts from Scripture for amulet purposes, cf. Leclercq's article *Amulettes* in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Vol. I, 2, col. 1788, and especially the papyrus from the Erzherzog Rainer Collection reproduced there. The position taken here is the result of friendly discussion with Prof. E. C. Colwell.

ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη combination of vs. 27.¹¹ However, the agreement of P 50 with D in any or all of these readings is outweighed by its failure to show the characteristic "Western" variant *ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας* in 10:30.

To this evidence against affinities with the "Western" text a cursory inspection of the apparatus will add the indications of a thorough-going agreement with B^N, and when B and N disagree, with B in preference to N. The four unique readings of the document, *οὗτος ὑποστρέφων* for *ἦν δὲ ὑποστρέφων*, *προσελθὼν* for *προσδραμών*, *εἶπεν* with *τῷ εὐνούχῳ* and *ἄρα* without *γέ*, all in the early part of the text (the first in 8:28, the other three in 8:30!), are scarcely of sufficient importance in the work of so careless a transcriber to set his archetype apart from the B^N group. The writer was then using the "authorized" text of the Egyptian church as we might expect him to do if his station and purpose were what we have suggested them to be. As the relation of his archetype to A is negative, it may be that he lived outside the immediate environment of the great metropolis of Egypt.

¹¹ This would appear to be the ultimate basis of the "Western" variant in any case.

QUE VAUT NOTRE TEXTE DES ÉVANGILES?

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Je voudrais, dans cet article, dire que ce texte est très défectueux et en donner les raisons. Il n'entre nullement dans ma pensée de dénigrer les Évangiles, pour lesquels j'ai du respect et de l'admiration. La question est tout autre. Nous sommes en présence de textes conservés dans une multitude de manuscrits, qui sont loin de dire tous la même chose. On a fait un choix parmi leurs variantes, ce qui est une oeuvre humaine, donc susceptible d'erreur. Ce choix a-t-il été judicieux, bien pesé, ou s'est-on lourdement trompé?

La première édition, celle d'Érasme, date de 1516. Elle a été faite hâtivement parce que l'éditeur Froben, de Bâle, voulait qu'elle parût avant la grande édition de la Bible qu'on préparait à Alcalá. Érasme s'est servi de manuscrits que le hasard avait mis à sa portée, et, fait intéressant à relever immédiatement, le texte qu'il a ainsi constitué ne diffère que relativement peu de celui qui est en usage aujourd'hui. Il y eut ensuite une foule d'autres éditions, qu'il est superflu d'énumérer. Au XVIII^e siècle, c'est la science allemande qui s'occupe le plus de cette question, et au XIX^e son autorité vient confirmer des résultats, qu'on croit décisifs. En 1862 Tischendorf publie le fameux Sinaiticus, dont il avait découvert les premiers feuillets en 1842 et qui devient avec le Vaticanus le document le plus estimé. La science anglaise s'engage dans une voie parallèle. Une opinion collective s'établit. Il y a bien deci delà quelques réserves, mais le fait est celui-ci: nous possédons aujourd'hui trois grandes éditions savantes, Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, Soden, et elles diffèrent très peu les unes des autres. Tischendorf s'appuie principalement sur le Sinaiticus, Westcott-Hort sur le Vaticanus. Quant à Soden, après avoir annoncé monts et merveilles, il arrive, par une méthode d'apparence toute différente, à des résultats qui sont sensiblement les mêmes que ceux de ses prédécesseurs.

De cette grande similitude pendant quatre siècles on tire l'argument que voici: notre texte doit être bon, puisque, après un énorme travail, des savants réputés sont à peu de chose près unanimes, les

divergences ne portant que sur de menus détails. Mais cette unanimité vient simplement de ce que, depuis Érasme, les savants ou bien ont eu seulement à leur disposition, ou bien ont préféré délibérément un grand groupe de manuscrits, qui a été de beaucoup le plus prolifique. Ces manuscrits étant tous plus ou moins étroitement apparentés, il est naturel qu'ils aient beaucoup de traits communs. La question est donc de savoir ce que vaut ce groupe, que je désignerai, pour abrégé, par **NB** (Sinaiticus et Vaticanus), en n'ignorant naturellement pas ce que cette désignation comporte d'imprécision. Si ce groupe est excellent, on est dans le vrai. Si on peut démontrer qu'il ne l'est pas, il y a lieu de procéder à une révision. Or, je crois qu'en général il est mauvais.

Le point capital dans la critique textuelle évangélique est que, dès le II^e siècle au plus tard, nos textes ont été profondément remaniés. Ce que nous voudrions savoir est: qu'était-ce que Jésus? qu'a-t-il fait? qu'a-t-il dit? que lui a-t-on fait dire? Mais de très bonne heure on a posé le problème tout autrement et on s'est demandé: qu'est-ce que la doctrine de Jésus? comment faut-il la présenter au monde? Les remaniements que nos textes ont ainsi subis sont grands. Nous le savons par des témoignages très explicites d'Origène et de Jérôme et mieux encore par les divergences des manuscrits les plus anciens. Les papyrus Chester-Beatty (III^e s.) attestent des remaniements. Ceux plus anciens encore (± 150) édités tout récemment par Bell et Skeat sous le titre de *Fragments of an unknown Gospel* en attestent d'autres. Les modifications les plus nombreuses et aussi les plus graves apportées aux textes primitifs proviennent de ce qu'on a voulu mettre en harmonie les différents évangiles. Il n'y a peut-être pas une ligne où, dans tel ou tel manuscrit, on ne voie passer dans un évangile ce qui appartient à l'autre. Jusqu'ici on n'a guère signalé ces harmonisations que dans des mots, des groupes de mots ou des phrases. En réalité, elles portent souvent sur des passages tout entiers.

Le Sinaiticus, le Vaticanus et la Vulgate datent d'une époque où ces remaniements avaient atteint leur apogée et où on cherchait à les codifier. Ce sont des textes officiels. La beauté de leur écriture augmente leur valeur marchande, mais diminue leur valeur textuelle. Le manuscrit vraiment intéressant est celui qui, pour des raisons variables, s'est trouvé hors du grand courant et a été copié par quelque moine peu lettré, qui n'avait d'autre but que de sauver son âme et se souciait peu des théories en faveur dans les centres.

Il en existe de tels, et c'est le rapprochement de tous ces témoignages qui permet de faire la critique de nos éditions.

J'ai abordé ces études il y a bien longtemps et avec la conviction que j'étais en présence d'un travail scientifique sérieux. Depuis, mes illusions ont disparu, une à une. L'oeuvre accomplie est tout entière de déduction. On est parti de ce principe qu'il s'agissait d'un texte grec et que par conséquent les manuscrits grecs surtout devaient faire foi. On a cru aussi que les plus anciens étaient évidemment les meilleurs. Arrêtons-nous sur ces deux points.

Il existe des traductions du texte grec: en latin, en syriaque, en copte, etc. Parmi les latines, celles qui sont antérieures à la révision de S. Jérôme et qu'on désigne sous le nom générique d'*itala* ou de *vieille latine*, sont dignes de la plus grande attention. En réalité ce sont moins des traductions que des calques: un mot latin répond à un mot grec; le latin ainsi obtenu est souvent baroque, mais si on le retranspose en grec, on en retrouve le sens exact. Très souvent l'*itala* donne un texte que n'ont pas conservé les manuscrits grecs et qu'il y a lieu de tenir pour primitif. Il en est d'ailleurs de même du syriaque. D'autre part ces manuscrits latins ne le cèdent nullement pour l'ancienneté aux manuscrits grecs et on est même autorisé à croire que certains d'entre eux sont la traduction de manuscrits grecs plus anciens que ceux qui nous sont parvenus. Les éditeurs ont connu leurs variantes, ils les ont citées dans leurs apparats critiques. Or, pas une fois, à ma connaissance, ils n'ont donné raison au latin (ou au syriaque) contre le grec. Pas une fois non plus ils n'ont adopté une leçon de manuscrits grecs en minuscules, quand elle n'avait pas pour répondant un manuscrit grec en onciales. Tous les philologues savent pourtant que, si l'âge d'un manuscrit entre en ligne de compte, il n'est pas en soi une preuve d'excellence. Des leçons de tout premier ordre se trouvent dans des manuscrits de date postérieure.

Chaque évangéliste a sa morphologie, sa syntaxe, son vocabulaire. Le grec est, à ce point de vue, une langue très spéciale, qui ne peut être comparée à aucune de celles dont nous avons l'habitude. Une grammaire d'ensemble du Nouveau Testament, ou même des Évangiles, est une absurdité. Il y a autant de langues que d'auteurs. Il faut y regarder à deux et à trois fois avant d'admettre chez Mc du trop savant ou chez Lc du trop vulgaire. On peut, on doit, faire pour chaque auteur ce qu'un physiologiste appellerait une analyse du sang, et c'est là le meilleur de tous les moyens pour

reconnaître si une phrase ou un passage sont authentiques. De cela les éditeurs ne se sont nullement souciés. Une forme quelconque attestée par le Sinaiticus ou le Vaticanus, et à plus forte raison par les deux à la fois, a été considérée par eux comme bonne, quelle qu'elle fût. Il en est qui hurlent d'être dans le voisinage l'une de l'autre.

Enfin on trouve des variantes en nombre incalculable. Elles ont une raison d'être, il doit exister entre elles des rapports, il doit y avoir possibilité d'entrevoir comment elles sont dérivées les unes des autres. Pourquoi à certains passages sont-elles si nombreuses qu'il est impossible d'établir un texte objectif, et pourquoi à ces passages-là constate-t-on des contradictions avec la langue habituelle de l'auteur ou un texte qui pêche à d'autres points de vue, le plus souvent les deux à la fois? A ce problème la seule solution qu'on ait donnée la plupart du temps est l'autorité du Sinaiticus et du Vaticanus, plus rarement de l'Alexandrinus et de son groupe. Or, dans la majorité des cas ces manuscrits ont tort.

Toute la critique textuelle des Évangiles (et je dirai du Nouveau Testament) doit être reprise par la base. Les différences entre les diverses parties de la tradition sont considérables. Il ne s'agit pas d'un temps de verbe ou d'une transposition de mots, ou d'un membre de phrase omis ou surajouté, mais de bien autre chose. Je ne suis pas le premier à émettre une affirmation de ce genre. On a tant travaillé sur ces textes qu'il est difficile et peut-être impossible d'exprimer à leur sujet une idée entièrement nouvelle. Déjà en 1890, dans sa collation du manuscrit 604 (*Introd.*, p. CXVI), Hoskier écrivait: "But *do* let us realize that we are in the infancy of this part of the science, and not imagine that we have successfully laid certain immutable foundation stones, and can safely continue to build thereon. It is not so, and much, if not all, of these foundations must be demolished." Mais il ne s'agit pas ici de revendiquer une priorité, dont la seule idée serait particulièrement déplacée en pareil sujet. La question intéressante est de savoir où est la vérité et comment on peut espérer la découvrir.

Dans ce but j'attirerai encore l'attention sur un fait ignoré de la plupart de ceux qui s'occupent des Évangiles. La langue de ces textes est encore une langue *vivante*. Ce n'est pas du grec ancien, mais du grec moderne, sous une forme très peu archaïque. Un Grec d'instruction moyenne les comprend plus aisément que moi-même je ne comprends Montaigne, dont cependant 400 ans seule-

ment me séparent. Il y a un large fossé entre l'anglais d'aujourd'hui et la langue de Shakespeare, et seulement une petite pente entre le grec actuel et celui des Évangiles. La grande erreur a été de partir, pour en établir le texte et pour l'expliquer, du grec ancien lui-même. Il en est résulté qu'on a fait un travail purement livresque, qu'on n'a pas vu comment se posaient les problèmes et que par conséquent on les a mal résolus. Il est des points sur lesquels le premier paysan grec venu aurait vu plus clair que le plus savant des commentateurs occidentaux.

On ne s'étonnera qu'à demi que ce côté de la question soit resté dans l'ombre jusqu'ici, mais comment se fait-il que pour les autres on ait encore si peu aperçu toute l'étendue du mal? C'est d'abord, me semble-t-il, qu'il existe dans la science des opinions collectives. Dans le domaine technique, elles n'ont, quand elles sont fausses, qu'une durée limitée; l'expérience suffit à en démontrer le mal-fondé. En philologie, l'erreur est beaucoup plus tenace, parce qu'elle est moins aisément réfutable. C'est ensuite que les éditeurs ont négligé de mentionner beaucoup de variantes, jugées par eux sans intérêt, et qu'ils ont présenté les autres dans leurs appareils critiques d'une façon morcelée, en découpant le texte par mots ou par petites tranches. Il faut alors un véritable travail, et un travail généralement peu facile, pour reconstituer la teneur de toute une phrase dans tel ou tel manuscrit. Souvent c'est matériellement impossible, faute d'indications suffisantes. Les données du problème restent ainsi fuyantes, et c'est pourquoi ceux qui, n'accordant pas une confiance aveugle aux éditeurs, tentent de vérifier, ne sur-sautent pas en confrontant le texte et l'apparat critique.

D'un volume en préparation où j'essaie d'appuyer par des exemples les idées que je viens d'exprimer je voudrais aujourd'hui extraire un texte court destiné à montrer comment, à mon avis, peuvent être résolues certaines de ces questions. Il comporte de nombreuses variantes, pour le détail desquelles je renvoie à Legg, *Novum Testamentum graece secundum textum Westcotto-Hortianum*, Oxonii, 1935. L'auteur a, comme on sait, pris pour base le texte de Westcott-Hort, sans préjuger de sa valeur, et donné en note de nombreuses variantes, qui forment le corps même de son travail.

On lit chez Tischendorf-Marc, chap. 6: Καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἡλθον εἰς Γεννησαρὲτ καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν, ⁵⁴καὶ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εἰς τὸν ἐπιγινόντες αὐτὸν ⁵⁵περιέδραμον ὅλην τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην

καὶ ἤρξαντο ἐπὶ τοῖς κραβάττοις τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας περιφέρειν, ὅπου ἤκουον ὅτι ἐστίν, ⁵⁶καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσεπορεύετο, εἰς κώμας ἢ εἰς πόλεις ἢ εἰς ἀγρούς, ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐτίθεισαν τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα κἀν τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ἄψωνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἂν ἤψαντο αὐτοῦ ἐσώζοντο. Variantes: ἐὰν: ἂν Westc.-H. Sod.; ἤψαντο: ἤπτοντο: Sod. Je n'ai pas gardé la ponctuation de l'éditeur.

Διαπεράσαντες, mot savant, dont on ne trouve qu'un autre exemple chez Mc, à un passage très suspect (5, 21). Les principales variantes sont: καὶ διαπ. ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς Γεν. | καὶ διαπ. ἦλθον ἐπὶ γῆν Γεν. | *inde cum transfretassent pervenerunt in terram* i. Jésus a dit à ses disciples de se diriger vers Bethsaïda (6, 45); or il sont censés arriver à Gennésaret. A prendre Bethsaïda sans le discuter, il y a une anomalie. N'est-ce pas(i) qui a raison et n'arrive-t-on pas simplement à destination? Ce serait l'intrusion de Γεννησαρέτ (d'après Mt 14, 34) qui aurait provoqué tout ce trouble. La leçon des éditeurs, qui est celle de B, semble la plus mauvaise de toutes.

Προσωρμίσθησαν, mot savant, hapax dans le NT, manque dans la majorité des mss, n'est attesté en latin que par f l vg, qui est un groupe exécrationnel. Dans vg même, R ne donne pas *et* devant ce verbe, ce qui prouve bien qu'il a été surajouté.

Περιτρέχω, hapax dans tout le NT. Mc évite, sauf quand ils sont du parler très courant, les mots composés d'une préposition et d'un verbe.

ἤρξαντο ἐπὶ τοῖς κραβάττοις τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας περιφέρειν. Encore un verbe à préposition. Dans le NT on n'en trouve que deux autres exemples (II Cor 4, 10; Eph 4, 14), appartenant tous deux à la langue savante, qui n'est pas celle de Mc. En outre, et ceci mérite une attention particulière, Mc emploie souvent ἀρχομαι "commencer à, être en train de." Or, il construit ce verbe, comme en français ou en grec moderne, soit immédiatement avec un infinitif, soit en intercalant seulement un pronom: "il commença à dire, il commença à leur dire" (26 exemples). Une seule exception (12, 1): ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν, mais un ms. de l'itala (a) ne donne pas ἐν παραβολαῖς; c'est probablement lui qui est dans le vrai. A notre passage l'intercalation est particulièrement longue: ce n'est pas là de la langue de Mc.

ὅπου (ἐ)ὰν εἰσεπορεύετο, sans être choquant à cette époque, n'a pour répondant chez Mc que ὅσοι ἂν ἤψαντο qui vient plus loin et δὲν ἂν ἡτοῦντο 15, 6, qui ne se recommande ni par le relatif δὲν, ni

même par le moyen *ἡτοῦντο*, bien qu'il y ait de ce dernier (en apparence) d'autres exemples dans notre texte de Mc.

ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς. Le mot *ἀγρός* signifie tantôt "champ," tantôt "ferme, mas," les latins traduisent ici par *villa*. Mais, qu'il s'agisse de "champs" ou de "fermes," comment peut-on y trouver des places publiques? On a imputé aux évangélistes bien des absurdités dont ils ne sont vraiment pas responsables. Les variantes sont multiples: des mss. omettent, les uns *εις αγορας*, les autres (dont **N**) *εν ταῖς αγοραις*. Il en est qui disent *εν ταῖς πλατειαις*, détail sur lequel j'aurai l'occasion de revenir plus loin.

ἐτίθεσαν, hapax dans le NT, forme très savante à cette époque, où *ἐτίθουν* était déjà si fortement implanté qu'on le trouve jusque dans les Actes, dont la langue est beaucoup plus savante que celle de Mc.

ἀσθενούντας, forme savante, hapax chez Mc, qui cependant parle souvent des malades, mais qui les désigne par les mots *οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες*.

κἂν, bien qu'attesté à travers toute la grécité et jusqu'à ce jour dans le sens de "du moins" ne se rencontre ailleurs dans les Évangiles avec ce sens qu'à Mc 5, 28, verset qui réclamerait une discussion spéciale, et où en tous cas les manuscrits ne sont pas d'accord à ce sujet. Il y a entre les deux passages une grande analogie de termes et de sens: *κἂν, ἄπτομαι, τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ* dans divers mss. Je signale le fait sans y insister pour le moment et en disant seulement qu'il serait peut-être aventureux de conclure à l'authenticité de l'un ou de l'autre passage.

Enfin il est dit que tous ceux qui ont touché Jésus sont sauvés, c.-à-d. guéris. On retrouve là une idée de Mt, qui aime ces guérisons en masse: 4, 23; 4, 24; 8, 16; 9, 35; 10, 1; 12, 15.

Mc se serait donc ingénié à écrire dans une langue qui n'était pas la sienne et il y aurait accumulé les formes et les constructions insolites. Par une étrange coïncidence, les copistes auraient encore compliqué les choses. Un exposé complet exigerait l'étude du passage synoptique de Mt. Je l'entreprendrai ailleurs. Ici, je ne me propose que de montrer un des défauts de nos éditions, qui est l'absence de philologie et l'acceptation de variantes parfois extravagantes.

Ce texte de Mc pourrait bien être tiré, du moins en partie, d'un passage du chapitre 5 des Actes, où il est dit: *ἡμᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθεντο*

πιστεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ πλήθην ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ¹⁵ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὰς πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ τιθέναι ἐπὶ κλιναρίων καὶ κραβάττων, ἵνα ἐρχομένου Πέτρου κἀν ἡ σκιὰ ἐπισκιάσῃ τινὲς αὐτῶν. ¹⁶Συνήρχετο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν περὶ πόλεω Ἱερουσαλὴμ φέροντες ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ὀχλουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, οἵτινες ἐθεραπεύοντο ἅπαντες. On a certainement établi un rapport entre les deux passages, car SU de vg ajoutent à ce dernier *statim salui fiebant*, sans aucune conjonction de liaison. Or c'est par *salui fiebant* = ἐσώζοντο que les latins terminent le passage de Mc. J'ai souligné ci-dessus les mots qui me paraissent avoir inspiré le premier remanieur et qu'il a fait passer chez Mc en les modifiant un peu, mais sans tenir compte du fait que, si la langue des Actes est savante, celle de Mc ne l'est pas et que ce qui convient à l'un des textes ne convient pas nécessairement à l'autre. On remarquera aussi qu'il y a coïncidence par certaines variantes. Act *eis τὰς πλατείας*: ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις; Mc ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς: ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις. Act ἀσθενεῖς; Mc ἀσθενοῦντας: ἀσθενεῖς.

Enfin, on ne peut accepter dans les Actes ἐπὶ κλιναρίων καὶ κραβάττων. Lc évite le mot vulgaire *κράβαττος*. Quand il le trouve chez Mc il le remplace par *κλινίδιον*. Voir Mc 2, 4 = Lc 5, 19; Mc 2, 11 = Lc 5, 24 (mais Mc 2, 12 *κράβαττον* = Lc 5, 25 ἐφ' ᾧ κατέκειτο). Aux passages synoptiques Mt (2, 2; 9, 6) dit *κλίνη*. Il n'y a donc nulle apparence que *κραβάττων* soit authentique dans les Actes. Comme d'autre part *κλινάριον* est synonyme de *κλινίδιον*, les deux mots *κλιναρίων* et *κραβάττων* disent exactement la même chose. Ce sont deux leçons mises bout à bout, comme il arrive très fréquemment. Le ms. (a) en donne un exemple à Mc 6, 56, où il rend ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς par *in foro et in plataeis*. Il est très possible que *κραβάττων* ait, comme *salui fiebant*, passé de Marc dans Actes.

C'est d'ailleurs là un point secondaire. Que notre texte de Mc provienne ou non des Actes, c'est un passage remanié. Le lieu de destination n'était pas Bethsaïda (6, 45) que ne mentionnent pas 903 1689, le groupe ne s'est pas non plus rendu à Gennésaret. Jésus a dit aux disciples d'aller de l'avant vers l'autre rive, *προάγειν εἰς τὸ πέραν*, c.-à-d. vers Kapernaoum. Le ms (i), qui ne parle pas de Gennésaret, a gardé un vestige d'une meilleure tradition, ne contenant ici qu'une courte phrase, quelque chose comme καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Telle est la tradition de Jn (6, 17) et c'est à Kapernaoum que s'explique le mieux l'apparition des Pharisiens et de quelques Lettrés venus de Jérusalem. Mais ceci même n'est valable que si la deuxième tempête sur le lac a existé dans l'original de Mc, ce dont

j'ai des raisons de douter; de sorte que la restitution que je viens de proposer ne s'appliquerait qu'à une forme plus ancienne de cet évangile, mais non à l'original.

En supposant même que je me sois trompé sur certains points, peut-on dire que le texte reçu ait été logiquement établi? N'est-il pas surprenant que la masse et la nature des variantes, comme aussi la langue du texte, n'aient pas arrêté les éditeurs et qu'à aucun moment un peu d'induction ne soit venu troubler le raisonnement déductif et simpliste qui les a déterminés à choisir parmi les variantes celles des manuscrits qu'ils tenaient subjectivement pour les plus représentatifs?

Si j'ai choisi ce passage, ce n'est pas qu'il soit exceptionnel, mais uniquement parce qu'il se prêtait à un exposé relativement court. On peut tenir la gageure suivante: qu'on prenne un passage quelconque de cinq ou six lignes: il est possible de montrer que le texte n'en est pas correctement établi. Les vues de ce genre rencontrent encore peu de créance, mais ce n'est qu'une question de temps. On a tendance à défendre le texte reçu, qui a pour lui la force de l'imprimé, parce qu'on croit défendre Mc, Mt, etc., alors qu'il s'agit, seulement, pour prendre le nom le plus typique parmi les éditeurs, de Tischendorf-Marc, Tischendorf-Matthieu, etc. Si, dès le début, on avait pu suivre une autre méthode, la situation serait renversée et il y aurait sans doute peu de chances pour qu'on adopte jamais le texte actuel.

On ne saurait se dissimuler que les changements seront graves. Des passages entiers se trouveront ainsi remis en question et une distinction de principe doit être faite. Ce qu'il s'agit d'atteindre, dans la mesure du possible, est le texte même des auteurs. C'est là un travail essentiellement philologique. Mais il ne s'ensuit pas que ce qu'on éliminera de la sorte n'ait aucune valeur. Grosso modo deux parts sont à faire dans ce qui provient des remanieurs. Il existe des passages au-dessous de la médiocrité et qui cachent la belle simplicité du texte primitif. Il en est d'autres au contraire qui, tout en ne remontant pas aux auteurs, appartiennent au cycle évangélique et renferment de belles pensées. On sacrifiera les premiers sans la moindre hésitation. Le jour où ces études auront assez progressé pour qu'on puisse tenter une nouvelle édition, on mettra les autres en appendice.

J'ai déjà dit ailleurs que je ne crois pas à l'exclusivité de ce qu'on

pourrait appeler la méthode philologique, ou même, dans un sens plus étroit encore, la méthode linguistique. Sa valeur est certainement grande, parce qu'elle permet de déceler certaines corruptions que généralement d'autres faits viennent confirmer. Mais elle ne suffit pas à tout et ce n'est que par des combinaisons de méthodes qu'on arrivera au résultat souhaité. Un fait ne pourra être tenu pour acquis que lorsque d'aucun côté il ne se heurtera à un obstacle insurmontable.

La corruption a été telle que jamais sans doute on n'arrivera à restituer les textes primitifs dans leur intégrité, mais on en peut approcher. Où trouvera-t-on les meilleurs éléments? Il n'est pas impossible qu'un jour quelque fragment de papyrus apporte un texte meilleur que ceux que nous connaissons; quelques lignes seraient suffisantes pour justifier toute une méthode de corrections. Cependant les découvertes les plus récentes rendent cette éventualité de plus en plus problématique, puisque, malgré l'ancienneté des documents, nous n'y trouvons encore que des remaniements. Bentley a déjà fait observer que, dans l'état actuel des choses, ce qui reste du vrai texte se trouve disséminé dans une foule de manuscrits. C'est, non pas d'un groupe d'entre eux, mais d'une comparaison, que sortira, que jaillira peut-être la lumière.

Et voici le plus extraordinaire de toute cette question. Ces textes sont de grande importance, ils intéressent l'humanité tout entière, il en existe des milliers de manuscrits, ils sont connus, catalogués, et cependant, à notre époque de photographie facile et rapide, nous ignorons totalement ce que dit l'immense majorité d'entre eux. Il ne me semble pas qu'on puisse qualifier de bonne la méthode qui consiste à choisir quelques témoins seulement, d'après des idées préconçues, et à rendre des jugements, sans entendre aussi les autres témoignages. Elle pouvait se justifier à une époque où il était impossible de faire autrement. Y persévérer à l'heure actuelle est mettre la charrue devant les boeufs. Est-il impossible de fonder une organisation internationale qui se proposerait la photographie et la publication de tous les documents sans aucune exception? C'est alors seulement qu'on saurait au juste de quoi on parle. Je connais tel manuscrit postérieur au X^e siècle qui est seul, pour le moment, à donner certaines variantes dont on peut affirmer qu'elles s'imposent, malgré le témoignage contraire de ceux qu'on appelle encore les grands manuscrits et qui, dans la majorité des cas, ne sont que de second ou de troisième ordre.

A MISDATED NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPT: ATHOS,
LAURA B. 26 (146)

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Nowhere has Professor Kirsopp Lake won more distinction than in the study of New Testament manuscripts. In the field of textual criticism, his publication of the text of Family 1 and his explorations of the Caesarean text have made valuable contributions to our knowledge. By the publication of collations and facsimile editions, he has greatly increased the manuscript resources available to the New Testament student. Most recently—in collaboration with Silva Lake—he is making an invaluable contribution to the study of Byzantine paleography by publishing photographic facsimiles of sample pages from all dated Greek minuscule manuscripts down to the year 1200 A.D.¹ The value of this work is increased by Professor Lake's command of the materials in the monasteries on Mount Athos.

Since several other valuable contributions made by Professor Lake have come from his expeditions to the Holy Mountain, it seemed fitting to offer as a tribute to him here a study of the date of an Athos manuscript included in the valuable series of dated Greek minuscules referred to above. The codex in question is Laura MS B. 26 (146), a Byzantine New Testament with Psalms and Odes, with a colophon giving the date 1084 A.D.

Professor and Mrs. Lake publish a photograph and a transcription of the colophon. Their doubt as to the exact date is indicated by a question mark after the date 1084. I quote their comment on the colophon in full. "The colophon is in a different script and probably a later hand than the manuscript. It may be a copy of an original on a missing leaf. The cycle of the sun is three years wrong and the indiction one year wrong for the date given."²

¹ *Monumenta palaeographica vetera. First Series. Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200 A.D.* (Boston, 1934-1937.)

² *Op. cit.*, Fasc. III, pp. 13-14 and Pl. 188.

My attention was drawn to the manuscript in the attempt to date the Four Gospels of Karahissar (Leningrad Gr. 105). The Leningrad codex was judged to be the work of the scribe of the famous Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, but this script in its turn had already been identified as either identical with, or very similar to, the hand of Laura B. 26. This caused trouble, for the study of the Four Gospels of Karahissar had located it in the thirteenth century. It was too much to suppose that a scribe could have written the Athos manuscript in the year 1084, and Leningrad 105 in the thirteenth century. To find which date was wrong, every element involved in the dating of the two codices was carefully checked. This led to the study of the date colophon of Laura B. 26.

A photograph of this important colophon was obtained through the courtesy of Mr. George R. Swain of Ann Arbor, Michigan, to whom we were referred by Professor Lake. In the following transcription, the line division of the original is retained.

Εγγραφή ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου κ(αὶ) φιλοχριστοῦ κυ(ρου) α
 λεξίου μ(ε)γ(α)λ(ου) δούκα σεμβαστοῦ τοῦ κομνηνοῦ ἐπὶ ἐτ(ους) ᾗ
 φεβ(η) κυ(κλῳ) (η)λιου θ(η) κυ(κλῳ) (σε)ληνης ιη(η) ἐνδ(ικτιωνος) η(η) η(η) ἀποκρεα
 ιανουαριῳ
 λα νομ(ικον) φασκ(α) μ(α)ρ(τιῳ) κε χρ(ιστιανον) πασχ(α) μ(α)ρ(τιῳ) κη
 η νηστεία τ(ων) αγ(ιων) ἀποστολ(ων)
 ημερ(αι) λς

The items of date given here are nine in number: (1) in the reign of Alexius Comnenus, (2) in the year 6592, equals 1084 A.D., (3) sun cycle 9, (4) moon cycle 18, (5) indiction 8, (6) Sunday of abstinence from meat January 31, (7) "legal passover" March 25, (8) Christian passover (Easter) March 28, (9) fast of the holy apostles 36 days.

From the tables compiled by V. Gardthausen³ and the almanacs of E. A. Fry,⁴ we obtain the following information for the year 1084 A.D.: sun cycle 12, moon cycle 18, indiction 7, Sunday of abstinence from meat February 4, Easter March 31, fast of the holy apostles 33 days. The only item in the list that checks with our colophon is the moon cycle, obviously a coincidence. But if we turn to the year 1445, we find that every one of these items checks with the data given in the colophon. This is the nearest year to 1084 A.D. in which sun cycle, moon cycle, and indiction

³ *Griechische Palaeographie*², II (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 487 ff.

⁴ *Almanacs for Students of English History* (London, 1915), Table 10.

have the numbers given in Laura B. 26; and in this year the Easter data also agree. A University of Chicago tetraevangelion, MS 136, contains an Easter table which gives all of these data for the year 1445 A.D.

This suggests at once that the colophon is a fraud, and further evidence supports this opinion. For the sake of clarity, all the evidence is presented in categorical form.

1. The items 3-9 in the colophon do not agree with the year given.

2. The items 3-9 agree with the date 1445 A.D.

3. Out of 141 date colophons written in the 11th century,⁵ none gives any Easter data of any sort.

4. The earliest use of Easter data in connection with a date colophon that is known to me is in the Vatican MS, Ottob. Gr. 381, of 1282 A.D. Easter data occur also in Brit. Mus. Burney MS 21, written in 1292 A.D. by the famous scribe Theodore Hagio-petrites. But there the Easter data are given in a separate section below the main colophon, and it should be noted that the fast of the apostles is not given. In Patmos MS 192, there is no date colophon as such, but the scribe of the marginal comments adds a wordy exordium in which he gives the Easter dating in the years 1082 and 1109. The fast of the apostles is not given, and *νομικον πασχα* is spelled thus. Easter data are given also in a Paris MS. Bib. Nat. Gr. 1387, to which they were added by a renovator of the manuscript in the year 1388 A.D. These are the only instances

⁵ These 141 colophons are found in the following works: H. Omont, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque nationale du ix^e au xiv^e siècle* (Paris, 1891); V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886); Kirsopp and Silva Lake, *Monumenta palaeographica vetera. First Series: Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* Fasc. I-V (Boston, 1934-1936); C. Graux and A. Martin, *Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs d'Espagne* (Paris, 1890); The Palaeographical Society—*Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, edited by E. A. Bond, E. Maunde Thompson, and G. F. Warner, 1st and 2nd Series (London, 1873-1894); The New Palaeographical Society—*Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, etc.*, edited by E. Maunde Thompson, G. F. Warner, F. G. Kenyon, and J. P. Gilson, 1st and 2nd Series (London, 1903-1930); Franchi de' Cavalieri and J. Lietzmann, *Specimina codicum graecorum Vaticanorum* (Bonn, 1910); F. H. A. Scrivener, *Collation of About Twenty MSS of the Holy Gospels* (Cambridge and London, 1853); *Ibid.*, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis* (Cambridge and London, 1859). Since the total of 141 was established, I have seen many more eleventh century colophons, but none with Easter data.

of the use of Easter data in date colophons observed in a survey of about 500 such colophons.

5. The form of the reference to Alexius Comnenus does not agree with that found in date colophons from his reign. I have seen six colophons explicitly dated in his reign, and in each case the formula is much simpler than that of Laura B. 26. In three MSS—Paris Bib. Nat. Suppl. Gr. 482, 1105 A.D., Leningrad Public Library Gr. 100 (formerly Paris Bib. Nat. Coislin 212), 1111 A.D., and Moscow Syn. Typ. Bib. 2479, 1116 A.D.⁶—the phrase is ἐπὶ βα(σι)λέως, or —είας) Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ. A London codex, Brit. Mus., Harley MS 5537, 1087 A.D., agrees with Patmos MS 20, 1081 A.D., and with Florence, Laur. Plut. IV. 32, 1092 A.D., in the phrase βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ.

6. The 11th century date colophons of any length; that is, those that give several items, regularly give the month in which the MS was written. Out of 141 date colophons from this century,⁷ 116 give the month, 19 give year and indiction only, 4 give year only, 2 give year, indiction and reign. Not one of the 141 gives a series of date items without giving the month.⁸ Yet the month is not given in Laura B. 26.

7. Our colophon has as its last item "The Fast of the Holy Apostles." The ultimate source of all the Easter data here given is an Easter table. But Easter tables did not contain this particular item until later than the 11th century. This is plainly shown by Piper's list⁹ of nineteen Byzantine Easter tables which reach from 951 to 1432 A.D. The earliest one to contain the fast of the apostles is dated 1286 A.D. It is not included in the Easter data given in Ambrosiana MS B. 106 Sup. for the years 1003–1012 and 1224–1225, nor in the colophon of the Vatican codex, Ottob. Gr. 381, dated 1282 A.D.; nor does it appear with the Easter data of Burney MS 21 of 1292 A.D. But each of six tables written between 1354 and 1432 contains this item, as does the table in University of Chicago MS 136, which covers the years 1424–1469.

⁶ The last one has minor changes giving the exact year of the reign.—Sabas, *Specimina palaeographica codicum graecorum et slavonicorum bibliothecae Mosquensis synodalis saec. vi–xvii*. (Moscow, 1863), supplement.

⁷ See note 3 above.

⁸ There is a possible exception in Escorial MS Ω-IV-32, which has a dubious colophon in a second hand.

⁹ F. Piper, *Karls des Grossen Kalendarium und Ostertafeln* (Berlin, 1858), p. 134.

8. Our colophon spells the passover of the "legal passover" *φασκά*. But Piper points out that it occurs in this form in only four of his MSS, dated 1381, 1382, 1394, and 1432.¹⁰ This form occurs also in Ottob. Gr. 381, 1282 A.D., in Burney MS 21, 1292 A.D., and in University of Chicago MS 136, 1424 A.D.; but not in Patmos 192, 1082 A.D. The difference between the 11th and the 13th centuries in this spelling is clearly seen in a Milan codex, Ambrosiana B. 106 Sup. It has an Easter table with the data for each year in a circular frame. Kirsopp and Silva Lake (Pl. 212) reproduce the last 12 circles. Of these, the last 2 were originally blank; the 10 originals are dated 1003–1012. These all write *πασχα*. The last 2 circles were filled in for the years 1224–1225; they have *φασκα*.

9. The colophon in Laura B. 26 is written in a different hand from that which wrote the MS. The form of the beta, such a spelling as *σεμβαστοῦ*, the fact that the writer of the colophon does not follow the ruled lines but meanders; e.g., in the third line, from a position on one line he moves up the page until the writing depends from the line above and then back to the original level; and the general appearance of the hand—all clearly show that the scribe of the manuscript did not write the colophon.¹¹

10. A study of the proportion of uncial to minuscule forms of epsilon, eta, lambda, and pi in 111 dated Greek New Testament manuscripts established certain general observations of value for date. (1) Before 1166, these manuscripts use more minuscule than uncial forms of epsilon. In Laura B. 26 uncial epsilons outnumber minuscules 112/16 on the first recto of Mark. (2) After 1150, these manuscripts always use more uncial than minuscule etas. Laura B. 26 uses 47 uncial etas and no minuscules. (3) After 1075 A.D., these manuscripts use more uncial than minuscule lambdas. The Laura manuscript uses 32 uncial lambdas and no minuscules. In twenty-six New Testament manuscripts dated in the eleventh century the minuscules *always* outnumber the uncial forms of epsilon, but not in Laura B. 26.¹²

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 135–36.

¹¹ Lake and Lake hold the same opinion, *loc. cit.*

¹² For the data on which these generalizations are based and an analysis of their significance, see Ernest Cadman Colwell, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar: Vol. I History and Text*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), "Appendix: Some Criteria for Dating Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts."

11. We have examples of falsification of date of various Greek codices. For example, Brit. Mus. Burney MS 20, written in 1285 A.D., (the very period in which Laura B. 26 was written) had its date advanced three centuries to 985 by the erasure of one perpendicular stroke. The original date was $\overline{\sigma\psi\epsilon\gamma}$ (6793 = 1285); by this erasure it became $\overline{\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\gamma}$ (6493 = 985). Gardthausen gives several examples of Greek manuscripts which were falsely dated earlier than the year in which they were written.¹³ It should be noted that these false dates are almost always several centuries earlier than the actual writing of the manuscript.

Conclusions: These data show that what we have in Laura B. 26 is a fraudulent colophon written by some one who wished to secure an early date for the codex. The suggestion that it may be a copy of the original colophon cannot be accepted.¹⁴ A copyist would not have missed all the numbers, nor would he have failed to present an eleventh century formula. Had he been copying an authentic colophon, he would certainly have given us the month. The appeal to errors in copying cannot explain the presence of festivals and spellings unknown in eleventh century sources. The maker of the colophon knew the dates of the reign of Alexius Comnenus, but he wrote his date in the style of the thirteenth to fifteenth century, not in the style of the eleventh century. Since he had no date colophon to copy from, he supplemented his simple year date with a line from an Easter table. The line he chose was for the year 1445. This suggests that the colophon was written within about 50 years of that date, although this is by no means certain.¹⁵ A careful study of iconography and script in Leningrad Gr. 105, which is very probably from the same hand as Laura B. 26, located that codex in the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Thus the colophon in Laura B. 26, written about two centuries after the completion of the codex, is a fraud designed to antedate the manuscript several centuries.

¹³ *Griechische Palaeographie* II, 437 ff.

¹⁴ The suggestion that the colophon might be a copy—was to the best of my knowledge first advanced by Professor Friend of Princeton. See Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament Vol. I Introduction* (Chicago, 1933), p. 15.

¹⁵ Few Easter tables cover more than 50 years. It is most probable that our colophonist would chose a line from the future end of his table.

¹⁶ Ernest Cadman Colwell, *op. cit.*, chapter IV.

REMARKS ON THE PROPHETOLOGION

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Some years ago it was decided that among the publications of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* should be included critical editions, provided with musical signs, of the lectionaries of the Byzantine Church (Evangelion, Praxapostolos, Prophetologion) and, very fortunately indeed, Professor Kirsopp Lake allowed himself to be persuaded to take part in the direction of this series. The authors of the present paper, being at the moment engaged in preparing the Old Testament lectionary, see their opportunity to submit to his expert criticism some preliminary remarks, suggested by an examination of the material now at hand.

I. THE PROPHETOLOGION: A BYZANTINE ECCLESIASTICAL BOOK

Prophetologion is the current term for the collection of lessons drawn from the O. T. The name indicates the great part played by the lessons taken from the prophets, among whom Isaiah is prominent, but there are also many lessons from the Octateuch and Proverbs and a few from other books of the O. T. The Prophetologion is divided into two main parts. The first contains the lessons read, during Lent, on the first four days of the week at matins and at the Missa Praesantificatorum in the evening. To these are prefixed in many MSS lessons for Christmas Eve and Epiphany Eve, and they are followed by lessons for Easter Eve and five or six other days, the last of which is Saturday before All Saints. The second part, beginning usually with Sept. 1st, contains lessons for some twenty-five fixed feasts.¹

The Prophetologion has come down to us in about 160 MSS,²

¹ Some MSS arrange the same lessons in a somewhat different order; v. Rahlfs, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche*, Berlin, 1915, p. 31 ff.

² To the 153 numbers in Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis der griechischen Hss. des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1914 (quite a few of which designate rather negligible fragments) Brooke-McLean (*The Old Testament in Greek*, I, 4, Cambridge, 1917) added four others, but at the same time proposed to exclude two MSS which are actually New Testament lectionaries. To these 155 MSS we can add another three, viz. Laura 177 and 309 from Mt. Athos, and ton Blateon Nr. 49 from Salonica.

not many when compared with the thousands of N. T. lectionaries.³ This difference may be partly explained by the fact that the O. T. lectionary was not loaded with the mystical significance of the Evangelion ("σοφία ὁρθοί!") the very presence of which in the service meant the presence of our Lord. It is also partly due to the fact that the comparatively few O. T. lessons could easily be read from the Menaion and similar books. Such is the usage also of the present Greek church and, while the Evangelion has often been printed, there is, so far as we know, only one printed edition of the Prophetologion.⁴

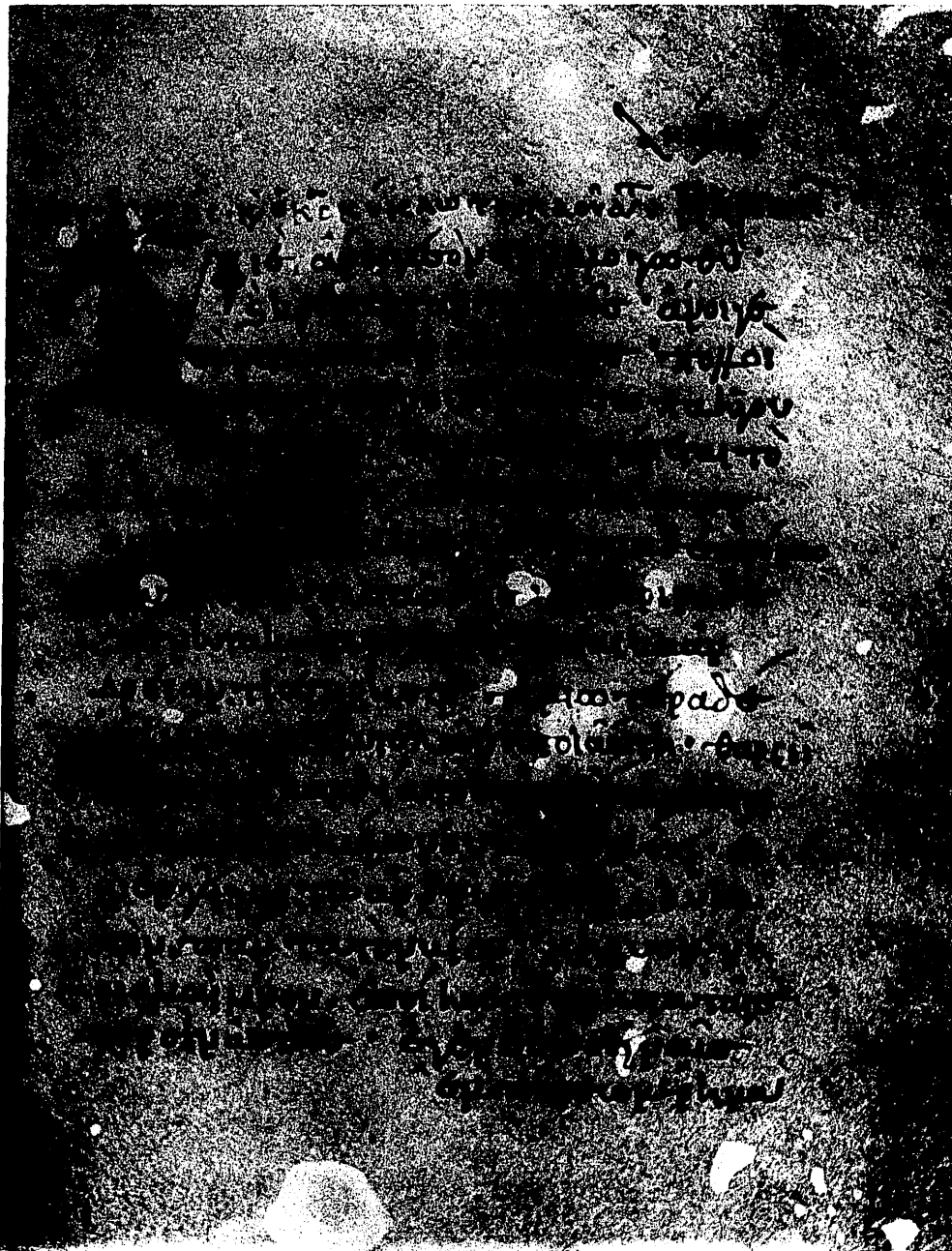
The MSS date, roughly, from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries. It is true that in Rahlfs' list five fragments are ascribed to an earlier date. The first of them, now in Sion College, London, has been examined by us, and we feel that some details in the writing point to a much later date. We have not yet seen the other fragments, but we hesitate to accept their dating without further proof.

Our knowledge of these MSS is still imperfect. We possess complete photographs of the most important MSS in Eastern libraries, in Rome, and in England, and photographs of selected pages from many others. We have thought it justifiable to neglect MSS later than the thirteenth century,⁵ and thought it hardly necessary to obtain knowledge of all thirteenth century MSS. We still lack the evidence of a certain number of earlier MSS. Some of them, in

³ The scarcity of extant MSS of the Prophetologion compared to those of the N. T. lectionary is not due to extraordinarily great losses, for we find the same proportion between the two in the Middle Ages. In Patmos there were, according to the catalogue of 1201 published by Ch. Diehl (*Byz. Zeitschr.* 1, 1892) only two Prophetologia among 109 liturgical books—the same which are there today. In the Renaissance catalogues from South Italian libraries published by Battifol (*Römische Quartalschr.* 3, p. 31 ff. and *L'abbaye de Rossano*, p. 120 ff.) we find mention of one "Prophetie Greche" among 84 volumes from St. Elia de Carbone (Basilicata); from San Pietro Spina di Arena (Calabria) eleven "libri nominati evangelistari" and three "piezi de libri de profecia." In the very copious catalogue of San Salvatore not a single Prophetologion is listed, and Bessarion's Catalogue of Grottaferrata (A.D. 1462) mentions nine Evangelaria and only three Prophetologia.

⁴ Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, II, p. 122, mentions as Nr. 216, 'Αναγνωστικόν, printed A.D. 1595–6, which includes a complete New Testament lectionary and the O. T. lessons for Christmas, Epiphany and Easter.

⁵ We have examined some pages of two of these late MSS (Flor. Plut. X, 27 and Leningrad 550); the result was what might be expected, viz. progressive deterioration.



Cod. Flor. IX, 15 (fol. ?)
3rd lesson for Friday of 6th Week of Lent
(Prov. 24, 76-77; 29, 26 ff.)

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ΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΥΘΥΚΥΚΛΩ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΝΔΡ. ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙ.

Eastern libraries, will probably not be available for our edition; but we hope to obtain the necessary material from Messina, Lenin-grad and Paris.

In spite of these facts, we think it improbable that further evidence will overthrow the main principles established by our examination of over sixty MSS.

The first impression of MSS of the Prophetologion is a very marked uniformity. In the first place, we may draw attention to the identical choice of texts for the lessons and their almost identical distribution throughout the movable as well as the fixed year. The lessons are also, when necessary, adapted to the needs of the *lectio solemn* in a uniform manner; in some cases by prefixing the formula *εν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις* or *ταδε λεγει κυριος*, in others by slight changes of the original text, such as *ειπεν Ηλίας τω Ελισσαιε* where the original text runs *και ειπεν αυτω Ηλίας* (Regn. 4, 2, 6). A more extensive adaptation is found in the third lesson of Ascension (Zachariah). The prefatory colon (*ταδε λεγει κυριος*) is followed by *ιδου ἡμερα ερχεται κυριου* (Zach. 14, 1), apparently chosen as a parallel to another lesson, drawn from Jeremiah 38, 31 (*ταδε λεγει κυριος· ιδου ἡμεραι ερχονται*). Verse 4 follows, 5-7 are omitted, and the *lectio continua* proceeds from verse 8. This adaptation is found in all but one of our MSS.

Still more striking is the uniformity when a lesson is a veritable cento made up of verses separated in the original text. Examples are the lesson which is read in memoriam of the death of different Saints, e.g. on November 13, January 1, and January 25, made up of verses from Prov., Eccl., Sap., and Sir., or that from Jeremiah read on Thursday of Holy Week.^{5a}

No less obvious is the uniformity of the liturgical instructions, which are much fuller here than in the *Evangelia* and *Praxapostoloi*. They are of varying explicitness in different MSS, but always reflect essentially one and the same form of service. The *προκείμενα* and *στίχοι* quoted are nearly always identical. In the instructions regarding the functions of the clergy, noticeable difference might be expected corresponding to local traditions and the rank of the ecclesiastical dignitaries ministering in the different churches and monasteries. To a very small extent this is indeed the case. But we must be careful not to draw too hasty conclusions from these

^{5a} For further references, vide Rahlfs, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche*, Berlin, 1915.

sporadic *anomala*. For example, the first time the Patriarch is mentioned in a Saba MS, a statement of the functions of the Patriarch of Jerusalem during the ceremonies in the Church of Anastasis might be expected. But in MSS originating from churches where no Patriarch was expected to participate in the rites, exactly the same instructions are found. Finally, in one MS these very prescriptions are found, combined with mention of the churches of Constantinople (χαλκοπρατεία, βλαχέρναι) or of the βασιλεὺς himself.⁶ Here is the clew. The Patriarch mentioned in the first Saba MS and in so many others is not the Patriarch of Jerusalem but of Constantinople. In other words, the liturgical instructions in the Prophetologia are from books destined for the use of the patriarchal church of Constantinople.⁷ In some cases they may have been borrowed from the Constantinopolitan Typikon itself,⁸ in others they may have been transcribed from a Prophetologion meant for use in the Hagia Sophia. Which explanation is preferable in this or that case is still an open question, and it seems necessary to make allowance for both possibilities, since the tradition of the liturgical instructions seems in some MSS to be independent of that of the lessons themselves.

⁶ Among the instructions for the feast of the εὐαγγελισμος March 25th in Cod. Ox. Laud. 36, f. 253 ff. is found: καὶ μετὰ τὴν τριτοεκτην τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἀνέρχεται προαναγνώσμα καὶ καθέζεται ὁ πατριάρχης πλησίον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης εἰς τὸν θρόνον εἰς τὸ ἀριστερὸν κίονι (sic) καὶ ἀπερχεται διάκονος εἰς τὸ σκευοφυλάκιον καὶ φερεῖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τίθει αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ καὶ ὅτε φθάσῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶ καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ προσκνύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἵσταται εἰς τὰ δεξιά του θυσιαστηρίου εἰς τὰ ἁγία θύρια καὶ λέγει ὁ διάκονος πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην· εὐλογεῖ δεσποτά, καὶ λέγει ὁ πατριάρχης· εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ὁ διάκονος εὐχὴν συναπτὴν καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ οὕτως οἱ ψάλλται ἐν τῷ ἀμβωνί ἀρχοῦνται τὴν λειτουργίαν. Cf. Const. Porphy. *de Ceremon.* I, 30. In Cod. Patmos 210 we read among the instructions following the seventh lesson of Epiphany: ἵστεον δὲ ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ὑποστρέψῃ ὁ πατριάρχης ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου, ἀναγινώσκειται τεταγμένον ἀναγνώσμα ἢ γενέσεως. Cf. Dmitrievski, *Opisanie liturg. rukopisej*, I, τυπικά, Kieff, 1896, p. 40 (Cod. Patm. 266) and p. 158 (Cod. Pantaleemonos [Mt. Athos] 252).

⁷ This explanation is confirmed by the fact that characteristic liturgical peculiarities known on Mt. Athos (P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden zur Geschichte der Athosklöster*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 131 ff.) or in South Italy (*Dictionnaire de la Bible*, I. 2, p. 2481) do not appear at the proper places in the Prophetologia.

⁸ Codex A δ 4, at the end of Epiphany, refers the reader to τὸ πατριαρχικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν τυπικόν.

Some of the most distinctive features of the Constantinopolitan rites, e.g. the mention of the Emperor, have been passed over in the majority of copies as being of no use outside Constantinople; but on the whole, the scrupulous scribes have taken over all the material which was useful for the anagnostes in the Great Church, even in copies destined for monasteries and churches, small or great, everywhere within the Eastern Church. This fact seems certain; for, in quite a number of cases, we know the origin and even the further history of our MSS.⁹

All this is not surprising when the overwhelming influence of the Constantinopolitan Church is remembered, an influence of which the Typika published by Dimitrievsky and by Papadopoulos-Kerameus also give evidence. Even MSS from Sinai bear testimony of the hegemony of the City of the Emperor¹⁰ and it is significant that the best copy of the Constantinopolitan Typikon we possess, is found in the Monastery of St. John on the island of Patmos (Vlad. 266), where it has apparently been in use for centuries.

Finally, the uniformity of the tradition can be proved by a glance at the wording of the lessons. But we will keep this topic for the third part of our paper and first discuss the possibility of grouping the MSS on palaeographical evidence.

II. GROUPING OF MSS ON PALEOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

Many of our MSS have in common a series of palaeographical characteristics and may be said, from this point of view, to belong to one type. They are written on good and clean parchment in two columns embellished by carefully drawn initials¹¹ with fine ornamental lines marking the minor divisions and more elaborate

⁹ As curious examples of the wanderings of the MSS may be mentioned Codex Oxon. Laudianus 36, which gives very exhaustive rubrica especially destined for the Hagia Sophia and was used in the Metropolitan church of Ephesus (v. the subscription in Coxe's catalogue) and Codex Leningrad 217, which, according to the subscription, was written in a monastery in Bithynia, and was later in the possession of the monastery of St. Saba in Palestine.

¹⁰ V. Baumstark in *Oriens Christianus*, 3. ser., vol. 2, 1927, p. 16.

¹¹ Characteristic are *O* and *E*, drawn with concentric lines with the help of compass, and partly filled up with geometrical and botanical ornamentation. Zoomorphic initials are very rare in Prophetologia, but wherever they appear in MSS of this group they show the elaborate and often witty elegance which J. Ebersolt (*La miniature grecque* ad pl. 54) admires in MSS originating from Constantinople.

designs at the beginning of the larger sections. It may be noted, however, that the splendid miniatures found in so many Evangelia are usually lacking in the Prophetologia. The writing as well as the ornamentation is distinguished by careful workmanship, and the generally correct orthography proves that the scribes, by a good training, were well prepared to face even the dangers of itacism. Finally, the MSS of this group are provided with ecphonetic notation¹² written in the same red ink as the rubrics.

Most of the Prophetologia preserved in the libraries of the Near East and Russia belong to this type. So do the majority of the MSS found in the libraries of Western Europe. In the Italian libraries, on the other hand, they are extremely rare.¹³ If we take into consideration the fact that the special references to the rites of the Constantinopolitan Church (*βασιλεῖς, βλαχέρναι, χαλκοπρατεῖα*) are found in the most elaborate MSS of this type and remember the predominant influence of Constantinople mentioned in the first paragraph, it seems natural to suppose that this particular type had its centre in the capital and that it spread from there all over the Eastern Church and was imitated, with more or less success, in the provincial scriptoria. Therefore we suggest that this type be called the C-type.

Another group can be singled out, chiefly because it lacks most of the outstanding features of the C-type. The codices of this group are written on parchment of inferior quality, a great many being palimpsests. Most of them are devoid of all ornament and their initials are rather simple and often clumsy. The writing is usually narrow, stiff and lacks the elegance and formal perfection of the C-type. In the rubrica a yellow wash is often employed to bring into relief things of importance.¹⁴ They are generally written

¹² So far as we know, among this group only the majuscule MS, Leningrad 51, is devoid of musical signs. It also shows other peculiarities. As for some ancient fragments (chiefly palimpsests) we must suspend our judgment; all we can state now is that in Codex Monac. Graecus 262, which we, thanks to the liberality of the Chief Librarian, have been able to examine in Copenhagen, the presence of the *τελεα* is easily recognizable. Further statements are precluded by the exceptionally bad state of conservation of this palimpsest. In the fragment Sion College I, 1 no traces of notation can be discerned.

¹³ Of the Codices kept in Italian libraries none but Marc. 13 and Vat. Gr. 423 seem to belong to this type.

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Cavalieri-Lietzmann pl. 31 (facsimile from Vat. Ottobon. Gr. 344 written at Otranto A.D. 1177).

in one column and have no ecphonetic notation. Their orthography is usually bad, and they lack the attractive, sometimes even luxurious appearance of the C-type.

MSS of this second group are found in the Italian libraries, especially in the Vatican and in Grottaferrata. This fact suggests their origin: they may come from the Basilean monasteries of South Italy.

Scholars who wish to study the palaeography of that part of the Greek world have exceptionally good opportunities. Many years ago, after the not quite successful attempt of Gardthausen, Battifol,¹⁵ by tracing back the history of the MSS of the Vatican, succeeded in identifying codices written in the scriptoria of Rossano and other places in Calabria and these investigations were extended by Kirsopp Lake.¹⁶ On the other hand, the admirable publications of E. A. Lowe¹⁷ provide rich material for comparison with the Latin palaeography of the same zone. In the light of these researches we can come to fairly clear and definite conclusions as to the home of the second group.

We suggest subdividing this group and keeping three tenth century MSS apart from some twenty others, dating from the twelfth century onward; for, although the chief characteristics remain, the type has, of course, changed and developed in the course of two hundred years or more.

By a happy chance, one MS of each of these groups is ascribed to South Italy *expressis verbis*. In Vat. Reg. 75,¹⁸ a subscription reads . . . *εγραφη εις το Μαλβιτο κτλ.*¹⁹ and, according to a historical note on the last page,^{19a} the MS must have been written in Calabria shortly before 983. In Vat. 770, a part of which is still in Grottaferrata (A δ 6²⁰), a subscription by the monk Makarios indicates the date (between 1273 and 1281) and the provenance (Grottaferrata).

¹⁵ Battifol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*, Paris, 1890, and *L'abbaye de Rossano*, Paris, 1891.

¹⁶ Kirsopp Lake, "The Greek Monasteries in South Italy," in *Journal of Theolog. Studies*, 4, 1903 and 5, 1904.

¹⁷ E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, Oxford, 1914, and *Scriptura Beneventana*.

¹⁸ Cavalieri-Lietzmann pl. 16.

¹⁹ V. Battifol, *L'abbaye de Rossano*, p. 87 and 156; Lake, l. laud. 4, 525.

^{19a} V. Stevenson, *Catalogue*, p. 60.

²⁰ This was observed by Rocchi, in *De Coenobio Cryptoferratensi*, p. 258. In his catalogue he had erroneously attributed A δ 6 to Johannes Rossanensis. For the subscription v. Battifol, *L'abbaye de Rossano*, p. 93 and 159.

Before endeavoring to classify other manuscripts with these two leading ones, some further characteristics, in addition to the palaeographical features mentioned above, are to be noted. In Reg. 75 the incipits of the lessons very frequently differ from those in MSS of the C-type, the scribe prefixing *εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις* or *ταδε λεγει* $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ in many cases where these formulas are absent in C, and vice versa. Furthermore, this codex contains three special lessons for the *γονυκλισία* at Whitsuntide,^{20a}—a feature lacking in C-MSS. On the other hand Cod. Vat. 770 + A δ 6 adds to the norm of Constantinople lessons for several special feasts celebrated in Grottaferrata, for example for the birthdays of the abbots Nilus and Bartholomaeus and for the dedication of the church of Grottaferrata.^{20b}

Cod. Grottaferrata A δ 2 (tenth century) ascribed by Rocchi^{20c} to the Italo-Greek type may be compared to Reg. 75. Written in one column, with stiff and clumsy letters and crude initials, it contains nearly all the characteristics mentioned above. It gives the same lessons *εις γονυκλισίαν* as Reg. 75 and, according to Rocchi's Catalogue, p. 39, it has a lesson from the Canticum Canticorum for Easter Saturday. No lesson from this book occurs in any Prophetologion of the C-type.

The group of older manuscripts of the Italian type is completed by cod. Flor. Plut. IX, 15, a manuscript the placing of which, owing to some quite peculiar features, has caused considerable difficulty. It certainly differs from the C-type, for it is written in one column and has no musical notation. The opening formulae, such as *εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις*, abound and it has the lessons *εις γονυκλισίαν* found in Reg. 75 and A δ 2. On the other hand, its type of writing, although akin to that of finer minuscule MSS of the tenth century, such as that of Johannes Sinaites^{20d}, seems singular among Prophetologia, as do the crude initials and especially some zoömorphie ones. It is from these that we hope to have succeeded in locating the origin of this curious MS. The division of the ornamental initials into sections, characteristic of this MS, is familiar in Beneventan MSS.^{20e} In fact, there is a *C* on plate 14 and an *E* on plate

^{20a} V. Goar, *Euchologium*, 1730, p. 604-6.

^{20b} V. Rocchi's catalogue, p. 45.

^{20c} *De Coenobio Cryptoferratensi*, Tusculo, 1903, p. 275.

^{20d} Reproduced by V. Benešević, *Monumenta Sinaitica* II, p. 42.

^{20e} V. E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* ad pl. 9.

33 of *Scriptura Beneventana* which are exactly like the corresponding letters in our Florentine MS. Still more is this the case with the zoöomorphic initials. We have found birds, horses, mice, lions and fantastic beasts of completely Beneventan character, with the protruding tongues observed by Lowe ad pl. 9 and elsewhere, and this tongue sometimes extends and develops into leaves, as on pl. 18 of *Scriptura Beneventana*. Finally, having compared cod. Flor. with facsimiles of the Evangelion (Vat. 2138)^{20f} written in Capua, in A.D. 991, and finding much similarity in the writing as well as in the initials and in the peculiar, thick marks of punctuation, we do not hesitate to add it to the little group of older Italian MSS.²¹

As to the younger MSS of this group, the Italian origin of Codex Cryptensis A δ 4 is clear, from the characteristics mentioned, as well as from its contents and provenance. It was written, according to Padre Rocchi,²² by Johannes Rossanensis. We assume that this hypothesis is based upon comparison of the writing with codices like Grottaferrata B β 3 which are known to have been written by Johannes Rossanensis. In any case, this MS contains so many lessons for special use at Grottaferrata that there can be no doubt as to its origin.

Being assured by independent evidence of the Italian origin of so many single members of this group, we hardly run any risk in ascribing the whole of it to this region.^{22a} Among its MSS, Barb. 391 and 446 so closely resemble each other in content and outward appearance that they may be supposed to come from the same scriptorium.

Two remarks in conclusion: (a) of course some MSS of this type are found in libraries outside Italy. For example, we assume that Cod. London 11841 came from there, as well as Leningrad 325, which is a part of Jerusalem Staurou 48. The writing of the latter,

^{20f} *Pal. Soc.* II series, pl. 87, Cavalieri-Lietzmann pl. 17.

²¹ Things would be considerably easier if Bandini had been right in finding in a very intricate subscription the dating of this MS (A.D. 964). This date is not improbable in itself, but we cannot find that Bandini has explained this mysterious scribble in a convincing way. Perhaps it is, according to the suggestion of Professors Grégoire and Adont of Brussels, Armenian! Even if this should be the case, a South Italian provenance is not excluded.

²² *Codices Cryptenses* p. 41 and *De Coenobio Cryptoferr.* p. 39.

^{22a} e.g. the MSS Vat. Gr. 1842, 1860, 2298, Barb. 338, 346, 391, 446 and Grottaferrata A δ 1.

down to the slightest details, so perfectly resembles that of Barb. 391 and 446 that we cannot but suppose that it reached Jerusalem in some unknown way from Italy. (b) As is well known, e.g. from cod. Patmos 33,²³ people in Italy were also able, in some places, to write manuscripts of the Constantinopolitan type. The Grottaferrata MSS A δ 3, A δ 5, A δ 9, show a certain tendency toward the C-type and thus deviate, more or less, from the Italian characteristics which we have tried to sum up in this chapter.

III. THE TEXT OF THE PROPHETOLOGION

We now come to the most interesting, but also the most difficult, part of our task: the criticism of the text.²⁴ We find it necessary to start by eliminating from the examination the little group of old South-Italian MSS (Flor. Plut. IX, 15, Vat. Reg. 75, Crypt. A δ 2). They are separated from the bulk of the Prophetologion MSS by textual not less than by palaeographical features. Codex Flor. and Cod. Reg. especially represent a form of text entirely different from the rest of the tradition, as may be seen in the variants found in the tenth lesson for Epiphany (Jud. 6, 36–40):

<i>εν ταῖς ἡμέραις</i>		
<i>ἐκεῖναις</i> praef. Flor.		om. cett.
6, 36: <i>καθὼς</i> Flor.		<i>ον τροπον</i> cett.
37: <i>τιθημι</i> Flor., Reg.		<i>ἀπεριδομαι</i> cett.
<i>του ἐριου</i> Flor., Reg.		<i>των ἐριων</i> cett.
<i>εαν δε</i> Flor., Reg.		<i>και εαν</i> cett.

²³ On this MS (Greg. Naz.) written in Reggio A.D. 941, v. Sakkellion's *Catalogue* and Kirsopp and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, Fasc. I, p. 14, plates 28–34.

²⁴ Very little attention has been as yet paid to the text of the Prophetologion. In the edition of Holmes-Parsons only the readings of Cod. Ox. Laud. 36 are partly recorded. This same MS is the sole representative of the Lectionaries in the edition of Brooke-McLean (Symbol: d₂). Rahlfs, who in his epoch-making book, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche*, Berlin, 1915, directed the attention of the learned world to the Prophetologion, knew only a few MSS of this kind. In his *Septuagintastudien* he relies chiefly on Steininger's edition of Codex S. Simeonis (at Trier). Nevertheless the few remarks in *Septuagintastudien*, 3, p. 96 ff. are highly suggestive. The printed text of the old Menaia (Pinelli) is not very interesting. The text seems akin to that found in the Cod. Crypt. A δ 2. The Editio Romana of the Menaia, Triodion and Pentekostarion follows the Pinelli text with correction only of the misprints.

down to the slightest details, so perfectly resembles that of Barb. 391 and 446 that we cannot but suppose that it reached Jerusalem in some unknown way from Italy. (b) As is well known, e.g. from cod. Patmos 33,²³ people in Italy were also able, in some places, to write manuscripts of the Constantinopolitan type. The Grottaferrata MSS A δ 3, A δ 5, A δ 9, show a certain tendency toward the C-type and thus deviate, more or less, from the Italian characteristics which we have tried to sum up in this chapter.

III. THE TEXT OF THE PROPHETOLOGION

We now come to the most interesting, but also the most difficult, part of our task: the criticism of the text.²⁴ We find it necessary to start by eliminating from the examination the little group of old South-Italian MSS (Flor. Plut. IX, 15, Vat. Reg. 75, Crypt. A δ 2). They are separated from the bulk of the Prophetologion MSS by textual not less than by palaeographical features. Codex Flor. and Cod. Reg. especially represent a form of text entirely different from the rest of the tradition, as may be seen in the variants found in the tenth lesson for Epiphany (Jud. 6, 36-40):

εν ταῖς ἡμεραῖς		
ἐκεῖναῖς praef. Flor.	om. cett.	
6, 36: καθὼς Flor.	ὁν τροπον cett.	
37: τιθημι Flor., Reg.	ἀπεριδομαι cett.	
τοῦ ἐριου Flor., Reg.	τῶν ἐριων cett.	
εἰαν δε Flor., Reg.	καὶ εἰαν cett.	

²³ On this MS (Greg. Naz.) written in Reggio A.D. 941, v. Sakkellion's *Catalogue* and Kirsopp and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, Fasc. I, p. 14, plates 28-34.

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ρεκαλάρει· εἰ πῶς
δύσασιν· ἔγκλητον
λιπὲρ μέγας· καὶ
ὁ θς ὑπερβαλόντος
μου· μέλει σου
σβῆται γὰρ τοῦ πρ
δόν αὐτῆς· ἡ τοῦ
μηδελήσου ταύτης
γομῶν τῆς κοιτίδος
ἀληθείας· ἡ δὲ καὶ
ταύτης ἀπολαύσει
τοῦ μὴ ἀχλὺν
οὐκ ἀπολαύσει

σου· εἰσέλκυσ
καὶ ἐν τῷ πρῳ ἔ
κεῖται τῆς ἀσέβειας
καὶ ἐν τῷ πρῳ ἔ
κεῖται τῆς ἀσέβειας
καὶ ἐν τῷ πρῳ ἔ
κεῖται τῆς ἀσέβειας
καὶ ἐν τῷ πρῳ ἔ
κεῖται τῆς ἀσέβειας

γίγινε· καὶ θωπεύεται
ταύτης· καὶ ἀλλοτρί
τὸν ἀναγιγνωσκόντα
ἀναγιγνωσκόντα
ἀλλ' ἂν ἡ δέον
πρὸς ἀνάγκην
φραγθὴ τὸ ἔργον
διήκασιν· ἀλλο
ἀσθενήματα· καὶ
ἀμθὴ τῶν ἐσθλῶν
μὲν· ὁ δὲ φανερὸς
καὶ ἡ φανερῶν

ταύτην· καὶ τὸν
δύσασιν· καὶ τὸν
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας

καὶ φανερῶν· ἐκ τῶν
διήκασιν· καὶ τὸν
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας

καὶ φανερῶν· ἐκ τῶν
διήκασιν· καὶ τὸν
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας
ἐκ τῶν ἀσέβειας

και επι Flor., Reg.	επι δε cett.
γνωσμαι Flor., Crypt.	και γνωσμαι cett.
καθως Flor., Reg.	ον τροπον cett.
38: ορθρισεν Flor.	ορθρισας cett.
και εξεπιασεν Flor., Reg.	απεπιασεν cett.
εσταξεν Flor., Reg.	απερρην cett.
απο του ποκου Flor.	εκ του ποκου cett.
39: μη δη Flor., Reg.	μη cett.
και γε εν τω ποκω Flor., Reg.	εν τω ποκω cett.
και γενεσθω Flor., Reg.	γενηθητω δη cett.
και επι Flor., Reg.	επι δε cett.
{ γενηθητω δροσος Flor.	δροσος cett.
{ γενεσθω δροσος Reg.	
40: και επι Flor., Reg.	επι δε cett.
N. B. Crypt. om. per haplogr. 39 και επι πασαν—40 ποκον μονον	

Codex Crypt. A δ 2 is a very carelessly written MS and, although to a lesser degree than Flor. and Reg., it deviates frequently from the text of the C-type and shows a strong tendency towards the form represented by these two MSS. For example, in the famous Christmas prophecy, Is. 9, 6, *παιδιον εγεννηθη ημιν και υιος εδοθη ημιν* is read in nearly all lectionaries; but Flor. Reg. and Crypt. read *υιος και εδοθη*; in the Daniel-prophecy, read on Christmas Eve, the reading of the bulk of the lectionaries is *απεσχισθη λιθος απο ορους* (2. 34) (Cod. Blateon 49 has *απεσπασθη*) but Flor., Reg. and Crypt. agree in *απετμηθη λιθος απο* (εξ Flor.) *ορους*. The opening formula of the first lesson of the Benediction of the Waters at Epiphany *ταδε λεγει κυριος* is omitted in Flor. and Crypt. only; in the same lesson (Is. 35. 10) where it is said, according to the ordinary text, that the redeemed will come to Sion “*μετ’ ευφροσυνης και αγαλλιαματος*”, the last two words are lacking in Flor. and Crypt. These few examples, typical as they are, may serve as illustrations for our thesis that the three old South-Italian MSS must be discarded in an examination of the typical Byzantine Prophetologion. Thus we are left with MSS chiefly of the C-type, which, as we have shown above, centred in Constantinople. It has already been stated that one outstanding feature of this chief group is the fact that it is furnished with musical notation. Here we shall for a moment insist upon this fact from a special point of view. The aim of these signs is to make clear to the anagnostai the correct

manner of reciting the holy texts during service. They are applied with surprising uniformity in all MSS to divisions which are also indicated by punctuation both in these MSS and in those without notation. Thus, the notation may be considered, to a certain degree, as a more refined method of punctuation, and can serve as a very useful instrument for bringing out the sense of words and constructions which otherwise, owing to the peculiar character of the Septuagint, might often have remained unintelligible.

It has been explained elsewhere²⁵ that there were often two or more possibilities in applying the ephonic notation to the cola given; but there is, down to the minute details, a striking uniformity in this use. This shows that during centuries some strong and conservative influence, emanating from one centre, was exercised upon our MSS. This active centre cannot be sought but in the religious heart of the Empire. It will be useful to keep in mind this conception of Constantinople as the seat of a strong and conservative tradition about the reading and writing of holy texts.

By these preliminary considerations we have prepared the way for a closer examination of what rightly may be called the text of the Byzantine Prophetologion. The first general impression is a great uniformity in the MS tradition. On the background of the general instability of the Septuagint tradition, it is indeed surprising to find long lessons with practically no variants in the MSS. For example, in ten MSS in the two rather long lessons for Wednesday of the week τῆς τυροφάγου, taken from Joel (2, 12-26; 4, 12-21), we have found no variants at all in the first lesson; in the second, only two of little importance and two or three purely scribal errors in single MSS. In the apparatus of Rahlfs' small edition 31 variants are mentioned for these texts, and there are, of course, many more in Holmes-Parsons.

In order to illustrate this uniformity we have selected some significant passages, where the Prophetologion-tradition stands firm in spite of the instability of the rest of the tradition.

Gen. 1, 11:

οὐ το σπέρμα αὐτοῦ
ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος

First lesson of Christmas:

²⁵ V. Carsten Höeg, *La notation ekphonétique* (Mon. Mus. Byz. Subs. 1) Copenhagen, 1935, p. 109 ff.

εις ομοιοτητα επι της
 γης A^{ms}, 55, 131, 134;
 κατα γενος εις ομ¹
 εις ομοιοτητα κατα
 γενος alii: om. κατα
 γενος A, alii: om.
 εις ομοιοτητα 19, 108,
 75, alii: καθ' ομοιοτητα
 15, 52, 57, 59, 82: alii alia

καθ' ομοιοτητα Σ

Num. 24, 7:

Second lesson of Christmas:

και υψωθησεται η Γωγ
 βασιλεια αυτου και αυξηθη-
 σεται η βασιλεια αυτου
 A, | om. Γωγ 15, 53, 56,
 59, 72, 82, alii | om. αυτου 1° ΠΒ 129,
 134, 509 | και αυξηθησεται η βασ part.
 sup. ras. 82^{corr.} | om. η
 βασιλεια αυτου 55, 72,
 120, 121 alii | alii alia

και υψωθησεται η
 βασιλεια αυτου και
 αυξηθησεται Σ

Mich. 5, 1:

Third lesson of Christmas:

και συ Βηθλεεμ οικος
 του εφραθα ολιγοστος
 ει A pler. | om. του B multi | μη
 ολιγοστος ει 22, 26, 36,
 49, 51, 61, 62, 86, 87, 91, 95,
 97, 106, 114, 147, 185, 228, 238,
 239, 240, 310.

και συ βηθλεεμ
 οικος του εφραθα
 μη ολιγοστος ει Σ

Is. 35, 7:

First lesson of Benediction of
 the Waters (Epiphany):

εκει ευφροσυνη ορνεων επ-
 αυλεις καλαμου και ελη
 ΒΑ pler. | επαυλεις καλαμου]
 επαυλις καλαμου Q, 24, 41,
 alii: επαυλις ποιμνιων S, 49:
 επαυλ(ε)ις σειρηνων και καλαμον 93
 επαυλ(ε)ις σειρηνων και καλαμοι

επαυλεις σειρηνων
 και καλαμοι Σ

22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 147, 233, 302,
308: alii alia.

The stability of the Prophetologion tradition may further be illustrated by some examples showing the uniformity even of details which, for special reasons, were strongly exposed to alteration.

In the lesson from Proverbs for Friday of the first week of Lent (Prov. 3, 19 ff.) the great majority of O. T. MSS have *ωα ξηση η ψυχη σου*; only three have *ωα ξη ση ψ.*, viz. 109, 147 and 252. Now this latter reading most certainly was, for phonetic and palaeographical reasons, emphatically the *lectio difficilior*, especially as the formula *ξη η ψυχη σου* occurs in other places in Prophetologion texts (e.g. Regn. 4, 2, 6). Nevertheless, it has resisted in a most astonishing way all these dangers and the influence from ordinary Biblical tradition and is found in all but one of the Prophetologia we know. This example also shows how the eephonetic notation helps to fix the tradition. In our MSS an eephonetic neume marks an incision after *ξη* as well as after *ψυχη*. The only MS (Leningrad 51) giving the reading of the ordinary Biblical tradition lacks eephonetic notation.

Another instance of this conservative tendency,—and a rather startling one,—is found in the second lesson for Christmas. The ordinary text (Num. 24, 16) runs *οι καταρωμενοι σε κεκατηρανται*. In some of our MSS the last word is written with a trivial orthographic error as *καικατηρανται*. Now the really amazing thing is that under the first syllable of this word whether written with *αι* or with *ε* we find in almost all the MSS the eephonetic sign called *synemba* which normally is applied to the conjunction *και* when introducing short clausulae.²⁶ Under the verbal form *κεκατηρανται* it is quite out of place. This testimony cannot be questioned: the anagnostai in the tenth century when reciting this lesson all committed the same howler! One might also expect to find, in many places, fluctuation between *κυριος ο θεος* and *ο κυριος* and *ο θεος*, but as a matter of fact, our MSS generally agree even in such details.

We may now proceed to state that, in addition to the general agreement of the MSS in single readings, there are obvious uniform characteristics within the individual lessons. Often, too, the same impression is given when different lessons taken from the same book are compared and perhaps even, although to a less degree,

²⁶ V. Carsten Höeg, *ibid.*, p. 58.

throughout the Prophetologion as a whole. As instances of the first point may be mentioned:

(a) In the last lesson for the second week of Lent from Genesis (5, 24-6, 8) the ages of the patriarchs are given in a normalized form throughout, the substantive *ετη* preceding the hundreds, tens and units of years, e.g. Methusalah lived "*ετη εννακοσια εξηκοντα εννεα*," while the other tradition of the O. T. shows at this point all imaginable variations and combinations.

(b) In the great Easter pericope from Dan. 3, 1-51 the frequently repeated cola, *τη εικονι τη χρυση η εστησε*, and *της φωνης της σαλπιγγος συριγγος τε και κιθαρης σαμβυκης τε και ψαλτηριου και συμφωνιας*, as well as the asyndetic colon made up of the names of the three *παῖδες* are given again and again in identical words.

(c) Hebrew names and words are given in the same form throughout each lesson, e.g. *Μωσης* (not *Μωνσης*); the three *παῖδες* about whom we have just spoken (Dan. 3, 51) are called throughout *Σεδραχ*, *Μισαχ* and *Αβδεναγω*; the prophet Elisha is always called *Ελισσαιε* and in Regn. III, 18, 32 and 36, the Hebrew *עִלְיָא* is rendered as *θαλαα* in all our MSS.

As to our second point (uniformity throughout greater parts of the book) it is not possible to give definite statements before we have much more comprehensive material than is now at our disposal. But we feel fairly certain that some common stylistic features, although perhaps only of a superficial character, will turn up in the majority of lessons, for example, the lessons read during Lent from Isaiah, Genesis and Proverbs respectively.

The third point (uniformity of the Prophetologion as a whole) must for the present receive still more vague intimations, but we may mention that in all the lessons so far collated from different parts of the book, we have found the greatest care in the application of *ν ἐφέλκωνστικόν* and a general avoidance of Hellenistic forms such as *λήμφομαι* and *ἡλθοσαν*. Furthermore, the observation above about the Hebrew names seems to hold good for the overwhelming majority of lessons. On the whole we have the impression that, among the various readings offered by the multiform Septuagint tradition, the Prophetologion aims at giving the plainest and most intelligible forms.

The uniformity of which we have spoken is, however, stronger within individual lessons than throughout the book. In the first place, we may draw attention to the curious fact that sometimes

the same text, when transmitted in two parts of the book, presents two forms which, although uniform in each lesson, are quite different from each other. This is not true in all cases where a section is repeated, but it is very conspicuous, e. g., in two lessons drawn from Joshua (5, 10–15). The first is the sixth lesson for Easter Saturday, the second (5, 13–15) is the first lesson for November 8th. In the first column below we give the readings from the text for Easter Saturday (Lesson a), in the second those from that for November 8th (Lesson b), in the third those from the tradition outside the Prophetologion:

Lesson a:*	Lesson b	Other tradition:
Jos.		
5, 13: <i>φανεντα ανθρωπον Σ</i>	<i>φανεντα</i> om. Σ	<i>φανεντα</i> hab. 19, 108, 38, 58, 426.
<i>ρομφαia αυτου Σ</i>	<i>αυτου</i> om. Σ ÷ 1	<i>αυτου</i> hab. F, 19, 108, 38, 44, 53, 58, 72, 85, 106, 120, 121, 134, 426: om. cett.
5, 14: <i>πεσων Ιησους Σ</i>	<i>Ιησους επεσεν Σ</i>	<i>πεσων Ιησους</i> 19, 108, 426: <i>Ιησους επεσεν</i> plerique: alii alia
<i>επι προσωπον αυτου Σ</i>	<i>αυτου</i> om. Σ	<i>αυτου</i> hab. F, M, 19, 108, 426, alii multi: om. A, B, N, alii multi.
<i>προσεκυνησεν Σ</i>	<i>προσεκ.</i> om. Σ	<i>προσεκυν.</i> hab. 19, 108, 426: <i>και προσ-</i>

* In this and in the following tables the old uncial MSS are designated by the generally accepted symbols (or in some cases as *veteres*), the minuscule MSS by the figures adopted by Holmes, Parsons and Rahlfs. In quotations from Rahlfs, *O* indicates the reconstructed Origin-recension, *L* the Lucianic, *Lag* is the symbol for the recension printed in Lagarde's edition, Prophetologion MSS are indicated by easily recognizable abbreviations of their shelf-marks. The symbol Σ indicates consensus of the MSS available. Σ ÷ 1 (2, etc.) means dissensus of one or more MSS.

Lesson a:	Lesson b	Other tradition:
		εκυν. F, alii multi: alii alia: om. A, B, alii.
5, 15 λυσαι Σ	λυσον Σ	λυσαι B, 19, 108, plerique: λυσον A, Δ ₈ , 52, 55, 57, 72, 120, 121.
εφ' ω συ εστηκας επ' αυτω	εφ' ον συ εστη- κας επ' αυτον Σ	εφ' ω plerique: εφ' ον Δ ₈ , 52, 58 επ' αυτω 120, 29: επ' αυτον nulli: επ' αυτου A, alii: om. B, alii.
(post εστιν) και εποιησεν Ιησους ουτως add. Σ	om. Σ	και εποιησεν Ιησους ουτως add. F, 19, 108, 38, 44, 54, 55, 58, 75, 106, 120, 134, 426 Curz. 66, 85 ^{mss.} : om. A, B, cett.

Secondly, as already observed by Rahlfs (*Septuagintastudien* 3, p. 47) the prophet Elijah, who in the majority of lessons is called Ηλιας, in two pericopes (and perhaps in more) is always called Ηλιου. Both forms are carried through with almost absolute consistency within the respective lessons. In a later paragraph we shall endeavor to show that this difference in the form of the name reflects different recensions.

Finally, the constant tendency towards uniformity is shown in two passages where, curiously enough, it has led to corrections inserted in a group of MSS. In the older Codices of the O. T., Lot is almost unanimously called the brother of Abraham, and that is what we also find in the Prophetologion (the first lesson of Sunday before Pentecost, Gen. 14, 14 and 16). Now, although our material is here far from being complete, it cannot be due to mere chance that in four MSS later correctors have substituted αδελφιδους for αδελφος in both places. (The corrector of Athen. 20, however, in verse 16 substitutes τον υιον του αδελφου). This reading is supported by a few O. T. MSS: αδελφιδους is the reading of 44, 106, 53, 426, while 75 in verse 14, has ανεψιος (with cod. 54) but in verse 16 agrees with 72 in reading υιον του αδελφου.

Even more relentlessly, this same correcting spirit seems to have invaded the *incipit* of the third lesson for Thursday in the first week of Lent (Prov. 3, 1). In the seven MSS of the C-type, which we have collated so far (and in Vat. Gr. 1842) the two middle letters of the word νομιμων are erased; thus the sentence runs: νιε, εμων νομων μη επιλανθανου in agreement with Codd. 68, 161, 248, 253, 297.

IV. THE TEXT

It is now time to pose the question: can this uniform text of the majority of our Prophetologion MSS be identified with one of the recensions otherwise known? It is difficult to answer this question because the critics of the Bible have not succeeded in identifying, with full certainty, the text as given by extant MSS, with any one of the three famous recensions known to us in literary tradition, viz. those of Origen, Lucian and Hesychius.

For obvious reasons—the famous words of St. Jerome, the widespread opinion about the predominant rôle of the Lucianic recension in the Eastern Church, the results of modern researches—we must concentrate our attention on the recension regarded by modern scholars as Lucianic. Some minuscule MSS were singled out by Ceriani and Field as giving this text because of their frequent agreement with O. T. quotations in the Antiochian fathers and with some marginal notes in the syro-hexapla version of Paulus from Tella.²⁷

Lagarde was the first to attempt a reconstruction “in gravioribus satis fidam” of the Lucianic recension of the Octateuch. Following his path, A. Rahlfs endeavored to enlarge and complete his work by laborious investigations, the results of which are laid down in several papers and editions.

Lagarde based his reconstruction chiefly on codices 19, 82, 93 and 108, already pointed out by Ceriani and Field. Unfortunately, his edition cannot be regarded as a sufficiently exact instrument, since no particulars are given about the readings of the single MSS; furthermore Rahlfs affirms that the MSS mentioned do not preserve a pure Lucianic text. His own methods and views may profitably be studied in his great edition of the Psalter (Göttingen 1931).

²⁷ V. Field, *Originis Hexapla*, I, Prologomena, p. 84 ff.

κρίματι τῆς ἀποκατάστασις
τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἐν τῇ
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αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τοῦ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
μαρκαίου τοῦ
σαρκοῦ τοῦ
ὁρατοῦ τοῦ
τοῦ μηροῦ τοῦ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ

αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τοῦ
μαρκαίου τοῦ
καὶ ὁρατοῦ τοῦ
πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ

μαρκαίου τοῦ
καὶ ὁρατοῦ τοῦ
καὶ ὁρατοῦ τοῦ
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IV. THE TEXT

It is now time to pose the question: can this uniform text of the majority of our Prophetologion MSS be identified with one of the recensions otherwise known? It is difficult to answer this question because the critics of the Bible have not succeeded in identifying, with full certainty, the text as given by extant MSS, with any one of the three famous recensions known to us in literary tradition, viz. those of Origen, Lucian and Hesychius.

For obvious reasons—the famous words of St. Jerome, the widespread opinion about the predominant rôle of the Lucianic recension in the Eastern Church, the results of modern researches—we must concentrate our attention on the recension regarded by modern scholars as Lucianic. Some minuscule MSS were singled out by Ceriani and Field as giving this text because of their frequent agreement with O. T. quotations in the Antiochian fathers and with some marginal notes in the syro-hexapla version of Paulus from Tella.²⁷

Lagarde was the first to attempt a reconstruction “in gravioribus satis fidam” of the Lucianic recension of the Octateuch. Following his path, A. Rahlfs endeavored to enlarge and complete his work by laborious investigations, the results of which are laid down in several papers and editions.

Lagarde based his reconstruction chiefly on codices 19, 82, 93 and 108, already pointed out by Ceriani and Field. Unfortunately, his edition cannot be regarded as a sufficiently exact instrument, since no particulars are given about the readings of the single MSS; furthermore Rahlfs affirms that the MSS mentioned do not preserve a pure Lucianic text. His own methods and views may profitably be studied in his great edition of the Psalter (Göttingen 1931).

²⁷ V. Field, *Originis Hexapla*, I, Prologomena, p. 84 ff.

ἡμεῖς τὴν πειρὴν φαίμεν·
καὶ τότε πληρῶσαι τοῦτο·



Now the Psalter, being a book destined primarily for liturgical use, has a tradition quite different from that of the rest of the O. T. and can in this respect be compared with the Prophetologia. Like these, and for the same obvious reasons, it exists in a normalized form in a great number of Byzantine MSS. Rahlfs, with high probability, identifies this normal form of the psalter with the Lucianic recension. In the criticism of the other books of the O. T. Rahlfs, owing to the difference in tradition, was faced with problems of much greater difficulty. He has set forth his researches concerning Kingdoms in detail in *Septuagintastudien* 3, where he concludes that "die Gruppe 82 93 ist der Gruppe 19 108 sowohl nach der inneren Wahrscheinlichkeit ihrer Lesarten wie nach der äusseren Bezeugung ihrer Lesarten durch . . . Lucifer und die Lektionare weit überlegen."²⁸ Accordingly, in the apparatus criticus of his *Handausgabe* (Stuttgart, 1935), he bases the reconstruction of the Lucianic text of Kingdoms, Chronicles, Ezra and Judith, primarily on these four MSS, in so far as the respective books are contained in them. The value, however, of each of these codices as a witness to the Lucianic recension, varies, according to Rahlfs, in different books and even in different sections of the same book. In Judges, the principal witnesses are Codices 54, 59, 75 and 314. For Isaiah, the minor Prophets, Daniel and Susanna, the chief witnesses are 22, 48 and 51. For Genesis, ample information is given in the separate edition of 1926, in the preface of which Cod. 75 enjoys the doubtful honor of alone representing the recension of Lucian, supported but weakly by the "lukianische Nebengruppe" (44, 106, 54 and 134). So its symbol is printed in the appendices in italics although he admits that "der Lukiantext in 75 auf keinen Fall rein erhalten ist" (*Prologomena*, p. 28)! This result of the laborious reconstruction of the recension which is said to have dominated the Eastern Church cannot but surprise us. We cannot help suspecting that these reconstructions, improbable per se, are the consequence of an excess of method, and that this method involves in itself a somewhat inadequate conception of the way in which the Bible

²⁸ The devaluation of the group 109, 108 was started by E. Hautsch, *Der Lukiantext des Octateuch* (Gött. Nachr. 1909, p. 518 ff.). He gives a detailed comparison of the readings of these MSS with the O. T. quotations in Theodoret and Chrysostom. We have not the competence to retrace this comparison; moreover, for the purpose of this paper, it is irrelevant to discuss which MS comes nearest to the quotations of the Antiochian Fathers.

was transmitted. Rahlfs' reconstruction in the first fascicule of his *Septuagintastudien* of the ancestry of Codex 82 illustrates the results to which a mechanical process of deriving extant MSS from a supposed pure archetype can lead. Starting from the observation that this codex offers a text contaminated by Lucianic readings, distributed in an irregular way through the whole MS, and of readings which cannot be regarded as Lucianic, he arrives at the conclusion that the scribe has copied a defective Lucianic MS and filled up the gaps from a MS alien to that recension. Then, by a calculation of the intervals separating the Lucianic readings, he tries to define the size of the quaternions of the supposed *Vorlage* and makes the loss of some of these responsible for the "non-Lucianic" sections. But at last he is bound to admit that Lucianic readings are found also in the parts for which the quaternions, according to his hypothesis, were lost. This is explained away by the new hypothesis that the quaternions, the loss of which was supposed, nevertheless partly existed and that the scribe himself made a mixture by using the remains of the quaternions which had fallen out, along with the other non-Lucianic MS!

This short survey may show readers to whom this subject is not familiar what intense study has been devoted by eminent scholars to the "Lucianic problem," and also how difficult it is to get a clear and definite idea of this recension, which seems to slip away whenever you clutch at it. But these researches have brought into relief the special character of an important branch of the Septuagint tradition and it is evident that they must be taken as a basis for any attempt to elucidate the problem of the textual history of an O. T. text during the Byzantine age.

Although we have not as yet been able to carry out exhaustive researches in that direction, we have, when comparing the tradition of the Prophetologion with that of the ordinary O. T. tradition in many cases come across the very MSS upon which the Lucianic experts have concentrated their attention. Perhaps some of our readers have already received the same impression from some of the passages quoted in the preceding paragraphs, e.g.:

(1) The scheme on p. 204 (Jos. 5, 13 ff.) shows a close resemblance between the text of Lesson *a* and that of codd. 19, 108 and Br. Mus. Curz. 66.

(2) The formula used in the enumeration of the ages of the

Patriarchs (Gen. 5, p. 203 above) occurs in the same form in codd. 15, 19, 44, 53, 54, 58, 106, 129, 134 and 314, although not with absolute consistency. Cod. 75, on the other hand, has another formula in the majority of cases.

These agreements, appearing in passages quoted for other purposes, are not fortuitous and it would be easy to gather hundreds of the same kind. But it will be more instructive, we think, to set forth in detail all the relevant readings from a few lessons, together with the parallels from the ordinary O. T. tradition. Our first example is from a pericope drawn from Isaiah, the second lesson for Ascension. As a basis for comparison we have taken Rahlfs' *Handausgabe*. The symbol *L* here indicates the following codices: 22, (36), 48, 51 (62, 93, 147); the *Handausgabe* does not give particulars as to the readings of each of these MSS, but it does not seem advisable to replace Rahlfs' indications by the more explicit but less reliable ones of Holmes-Parson. Only in some cases have we added to Rahlfs' apparatus some particularly interesting statements taken from Holmes-Parson.

	<i>Lectionary Tradition</i> (from 9 MSS)	<i>Other Tradition</i> (from Rahlfs and Holmes-Parson)
Is.		
62, 10:	(post πορευεσθε) περιελθατε add. plerique (post των πυλων μου) σκευασατε την οδον add. Σ (post οδοποιησατε) οδοποιησατε add. Σ	περιελθετε ^α add. <i>L</i> ; om. cett. σκευασατε την οδον add. <i>L</i> : om. cett. οδοποιησατε ² add. <i>L</i> (in <i>O</i> sub ·×·): om. cett.
62, 11:	ο σωτηρ σου Σ παραγεγονεν Σ (post μισθον) μετ' αυτου add. Σ (post εργον) αυτου add. Σ	ο σωτηρ σου <i>L</i> (?): ο σωτηρ σοι <i>B, C</i> , alii: σοι ο σωτηρ cett. παραγεγονεν <i>B, Q</i> , S ^{corr.} , <i>L</i> : παραγινεται cett. μετ' αυτου add. <i>L</i> (in <i>O</i> sub ·×·): om. cett. αυτου add. <i>B, S, L</i> : om. cett.
63, 1:	(post στολη) αυτου add. Σ	αυτου add. <i>L</i> (in <i>O</i> sub *): om. cett.

	<i>Lectionary Tradition</i>	<i>Other Tradition</i>
Is.	βρα Σ ÷ 1	βρα plerique: βρα 86, 106, 144, 308
	μετα ισχυος πολλης Σ	μετα ισχυος πολλης 62, 90, 93, 106, 308: om. πολλης cett.
63, 3:	πληρους Σ ÷ 1 (post καταπεπατη- μενης) ληνον επατησα μονωτατος add. Σ	πληρους S, L, C; πληρης cett. ληνον επατησα μονωτατος 48, 49, 51, 62, 90, 106, 109, 144, 198 ^{ms.} , 228 ^{ms.} , 302, 305, 308, 309: om. cett.
[63, 3-6	και κατεπατησα. εις γην om. Σ ÷ 1]	
63, 7:	(post αρετας κυριου) αναμνησω, την αινεσιν κυριου add. Σ	αναμνησω (αναμνησκω 23) την αινεσιν κυριου add. Q ^{ms.} sub ✕; 22, 23, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 93, 144, 147, 228 ^{ms.} , 233, 308: om. plerique.
	επι πασιν Σ	επι πασιν 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 93, 147, 233, 308: εν πασιν cett.
63, 8:	(post μου) εστι add. Σ (post τεκνα) μου om. Σ (post τεκνα) και add. Σ ÷ 1	εστι add. L: om. cett. μου om. plerique: hab. S, L. και add. L: om. cett.

Our second example is from the 11th lesson of Epiphany, = Regn. 3, 18, 30-39:

	<i>Lectionary Tradition</i> (11 MSS)	<i>Other Tradition</i> (from Brooke-McLean and Holmes-Parson)
Regn.		
3, 18, 31:	κατ' αριθμον των δωδεκα φυλων Σ	κατ' αριθμον των δωδεκα φυλων 19, 108, 82, 93, 127, 246, 489, (Lag.): om. cett.
3, 18, 32:	τους λιθους και Σ	τους λιθους και 82, 127, 135, Lucifer (Lag.): τους λιθους εν ονοματι κυριου και cett.

	<i>Lectionary Tradition</i>	<i>Other Tradition</i>
Regn.		
3, 18, 32:	θυσιαστηριον κυριου Σ	θυσιαστηριον κυριου 19, 108, 82, 93, 127, 246, 554 Lucifer (Lag.): om. κυριου cett.
	θαλαα Σ	θαλαα 19, 108, 158, 554: θαλααν 44, 106, 107, 246: θααλα 82, 93, Theodoret. (Lag.): θαλασσαν cett. (cf. Rahlfs' <i>Septuagintastud.</i> 3, 69)
	χωρουν Σ ÷ 1	χωρουν 19, 108, 93, 127 (Lag.): χωρουσαν cett.
3, 18, 33:	(init.): επεθηκε Σ	επεθηκε 19, 108, 93, 127, 246 (Lag.): εστοιβασε cett.
3, 18, 34	δυο υδrias	δυο υδrias 19, 108, 82, 93, 127, 246 (Lag.): τεσσαρας υδrias cett.

The third example is from the third lesson for Thursday of the second week of Lent.

	<i>Lectionary Tradition</i> (32 MSS)	<i>Other Tradition</i> (from Rahlfs and Holmes-Parson)
Prov.		
6, 3:	εγγυησω Σ ÷ 4	εγγυησω (103), 109, 253, 296: ενεγυησω vett. cett.
6, 5:	σωθης Σ ÷ 3	σωθης 23, 252: σωζη vett. cett.
6, 6:	ισθι Σ	ισθι B*, S, A ^{corr.} , 23, 103, 109, 147, 157, 252; ιθι A*, B ^{corr.} , cett.
	ειδως Σ	ειδως 109, 147, 157, 252, 297: ιδων vett. cett.
6, 7:	μη υπαρχοντος αυτω Σ ÷ 4	μη υπαρχοντος αυτω 23, 161 ^{ms.} , 252: om. αυτω vett. cett.
6, 8:	εμπορευεται Σ	εμπορευεται 23, 252: ποιειται vett. cett.
	βασιλεις τε και ιδιωται Σ	βασιλεις τε και ιδιωται 23, (103), 109, 157, 252, 253, 295; om. τε vett. cett.
	ποθεινη τε Σ	ποθεινη τε 252: ποθεινη δε cett.

	<i>Lectionary Tradition</i>	<i>Other Tradition</i>
Prov.		
6, 9:	<p>εως ποτε Σ</p> <p>ω οκνηρε Σ</p>	<p>εως ποτε 23, 103, 252, 253, 297: εως τινος vett., cett.</p> <p>ω οκνηρε 23, 252, 254, 296: om. ω vett., cett.</p>
6, 11:	<p>ειτα παραγινεται σοι Σ</p> <p>κακος ανηρ Σ</p>	<p>ειτα παραγινεται σοι 23, (103), 106, 109, 252^{ms.}, 254, 295, 296, 297: ειτ' εμπαραγινεται σοι vett., cett.</p> <p>κακος ανηρ A, 23, 68, 161^{ms.}, 248, 252, 253, 260: κακος δρομευς B, S, cett.</p>
6, 12:	σκολιας Σ	σκολιας 23, 161 ^{ms.} , 252 ^{ms.} : ουκ αγαθας vett., plerique.
6, 15:	δια δε τουτο Σ	δια δε τουτο A, B ^{corr} , S ^{corr} , 23, 252, 253, 296: om. δε vett., cett.
6, 18:	<p>καρδια Σ</p> <p>πονηρους Σ</p> <p>σπευδοντες Σ</p>	<p>καρδια 23, 109, 147, 157, 252, 295: και καρδια vett., cett.</p> <p>πονηρους 252: κακους cett.</p> <p>σπευδοντες 252: επισπευδοντες vett., plerique.</p>
6, 19:	(post κακοποιειν) εξολο- θρευθησονται (-σεται) Σ	εξολοθρευθησονται 23, 68, 109, 147, 161, 252, 254, 295, 297: om. cett.

The first two examples show on the whole striking coincidences with the Lucianic text as reconstructed by Lagarde and Rahlfs respectively, but also some differences from the very MSS upon which these reconstructions are based: no one of them is in complete agreement with the Prophetologion text.

Our third example has a somewhat different character, being selected from a book, the Proverbs, which has not yet been treated by scholars specially interested in the Lucianic recension. We have had to content ourselves with the indications found in the venerable work of Holmes-Parson. A marked feature in this third table is the strong resemblance of our MSS to a group of which codd. V (109) and 252 are the best representatives. Only once does V offer a variant not found in our tradition, cod. 252 never. The same relation is found in the other lessons drawn from Proverbs: where V, 109 and 252 group together, they always agree with our MSS; V has some peculiar variants, cod. 252 hardly any. Cod. 252

(Flor. Laur. Plut. VIII 27, tenth century) contains only Job, Prov., Eccl., and Cant. Lessons from Eccl. and from the Cant. do not exist in the Prophetologion (with the exception mentioned above) and for Job we have not yet made collations permitting a detailed comparison. V*, on the contrary, is a very full MS and can be used also for other books in the Prophetologion.

We find in Gen. and Is. agreements of our text with V (among which readings a certain number are "in margine sub asterisco") but also quite a few differences. It is perhaps not without interest in this connection to note the peculiar character of these two MSS.²⁹ Cod. 252 according to Parson (*Praefatio ad Job*) has "omnia grandioribus litteris *στυχηρῶς* exarata," and of V he says (*ibid*) "Libri Job ea pars quae in Codice superest . . . in parva dispescitur membra, sive versiculos; sed ea divisio nullo modo respondet versibus quibus vulgo uti solemus." Perhaps also the fact that this MS apparently did not contain the Psalter may be regarded as a hint in the same direction; it may be that both these MSS were intended for liturgical use. If this suggestion is correct, they may perhaps be regarded as representing the tradition which was at the bottom of our Prophetologion.

But we must leave this particular question to further examination and here content ourselves with summing up the general conclusions we have reached. The stock of Prophetologion texts bears a close resemblance to the tradition found in MSS regarded as Lucianic, but not always to the same ones. If, however, one lesson is related to one particular group of Lucianic MSS, other lessons drawn from the same book, especially if intended for the same part of the ecclesiastical year, are almost certain to show the same relationship. For the moment, we cannot give details; it should, however, be said, that in Kings (as in other books) the agreements with 19 and 108 are more frequent than with 82 and 93,^{29a} and that differences from cod. 75, particularly in Genesis, are far from being rare. Finally, the lesson from Proverbs may teach us that among MSS not regarded as Lucianic it is possible to find close connections with the text of the Prophetologion.

* V is now divided in two parts, of which one (= Holmes-Parsons 23) is kept in Venice (= Marc. 1) another in Rome (= Vat. Gr 2106); it dates from the eighth century.

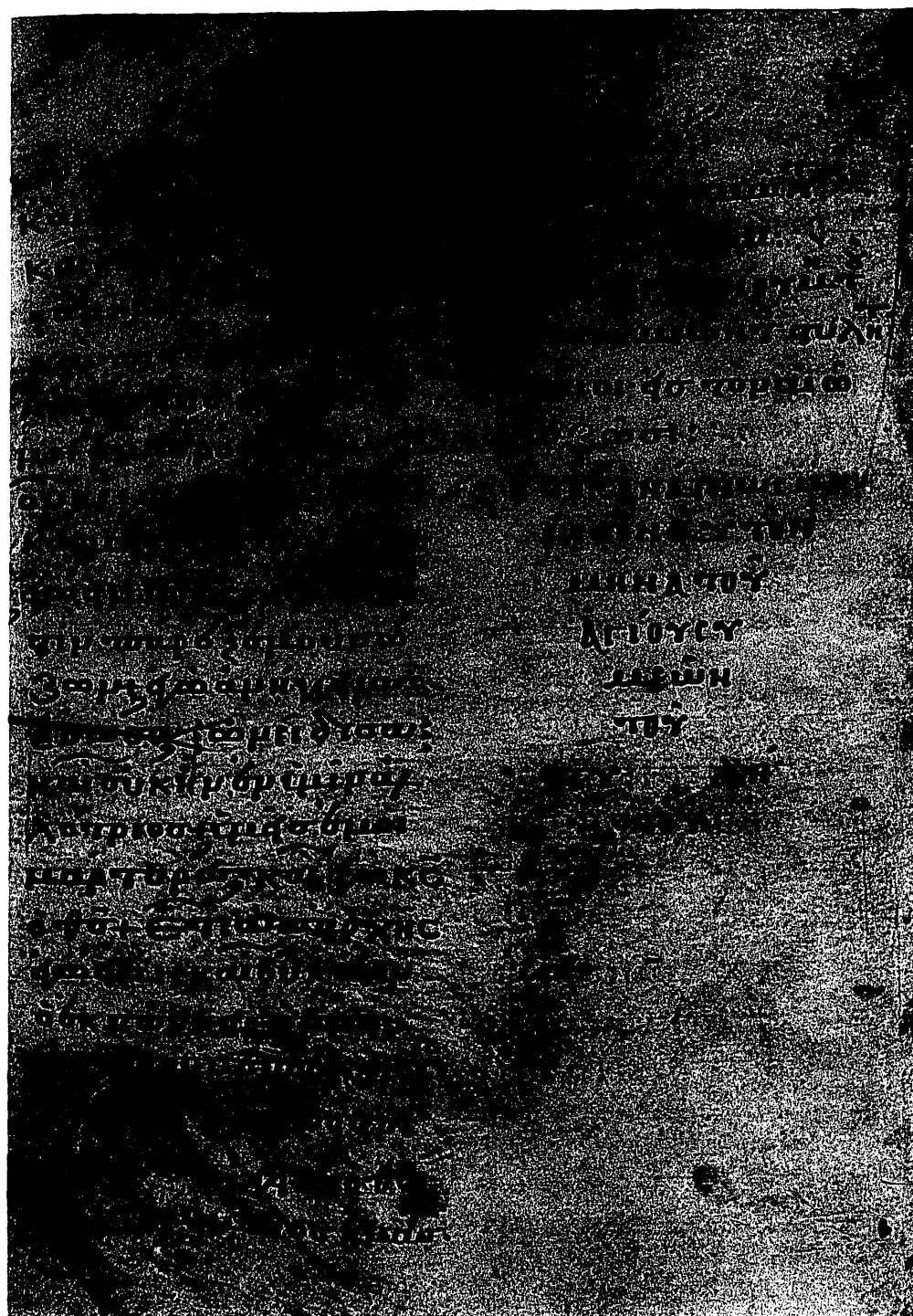
²⁹ It is worth while to bear in mind the high value given by Lagarde (*Anmerkungen zur griech. Übersetzung d. Proverbien*, Leipzig, 1863) to these very few MSS, as giving a correct rendering of the Hebrew text.

^{29a} Rahlfs, however, in *Septuagintastudien*, 3, p. 79, affirms that 19 and 108 in Kings are less "Lucianic" than the other two.

When mentioning the two forms of the name of the prophet Elijah (Ηλίας and Ηλιου) found in different lessons, we hinted at the fact that traces of recensions, different from that discussed in the preceding paragraph, appear at some points. This is shown also in the two parallel lessons from Joshua, the variants of which are given on p. 204. The variants in the third column of that table show clearly that the *a*-lesson belongs to the stock, viz. to the recension related to Lucianic tradition. An equally clear statement is hardly possible for the text of the *b*-lesson. It is, throughout, in agreement with the great majority of O. T. MSS (contra Luc. as well as B).

We come to more definite results if we follow the hint given by the form Ηλιου and examine the text of the few lessons in which it dominates. Indeed, the variants tabulated below are sufficiently eloquent. They are taken from the first lesson for the Feast of Elijah (July 20th, Kings. III, 17, 8-24) which occurs also (in a shorter form) as the eighth lesson for Easter-Saturday. In the first column the reader will find the readings of both lessons; wherever they disagree *a* indicates the lesson for Easter, *b* for July 20th. In the column reserved for the other tradition, special attention is paid to the "Lucianic" MSS, 19, 108, 82, 93. As stated above, Elijah is called Ηλιου throughout, in accordance with the bulk of O. T. tradition; Ηλίας is the uniform reading of 19, 108, 82, 93:

	<i>Lectionary Tradition</i>	<i>Other Tradition</i>
Regn.		
3, 17, 8:	(post ρημα) λεγων Σ	λεγων hab. A, Syr. ✕: om. 19, 108, cett.
3, 17, 9:	πορευθητι Σ	πορευθητι A, 121, 247, Chrysost.: πορευου cett.
	Σαρεφθα Σ	Σαρεφθα 106, 119, 243, 372, 554 ^{ms} , Josephus, Chrys. 2/3: Σαρεπτα 19, 108, cett.
	της Σιδωνιας Σ	της Σιδωνος 108, 127, 246, 489: τ. Σιδωνιας cett.
	(post Σιδωνιας) και καθησει εκει Σ	και καθησει ⁿ εκει A, 52, 92, 246, 314, 489, 767: om. 19, 108, 82 plerique.



When mentioning the two forms of the name of the prophet Elijah (Ηλίας and Ηλιου) found in different lessons, we hinted at the fact that traces of recensions, different from that discussed in the preceding paragraph, appear at some points. This is shown also in the two parallel lessons from Joshua, the variants of which are given on p. 204. The variants in the third column of that table show clearly that the *a*-lesson belongs to the stock, viz. to the recension related to Lucianic tradition. An equally clear statement is hardly possible for the text of the *b*-lesson. It is, throughout, in agreement with the great majority of O. T. MSS (contra Luc. as well as B).

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	<i>Lectionary Tradition</i>	<i>Other Tradition</i>
Regn.		
3, 17, 8:	(post ρημα) λεγων Σ	λεγων hab. A, Syr. ⋈: om. 19, 108, cett.
3, 17, 9:	πορευθητι Σ	πορευθητι A, 121, 247, Chrysost.: πορευου cett.
	Σαρεφθα Σ	Σαρεφθα 106, 119, 243, 372, 554 ^{ms} , Josephus, Chrys. $\frac{2}{3}$: Σαρεπτα 19, 108, cett.
	της Σιδωνιας Σ	της Σιδωνος 108, 127, 246, 489: τ. Σιδωνιας cett.
	(post Σιδωνιας) και καθησει εκει Σ	και καθησει ^u εκει A, 52, 92, 246, 314, 489, $\frac{8}{1}$ 767: om. 19, 108, 82 plerique.

Regn.	Lectionary Tradition	Other Tradition
3, 17, 10:	και εβοησεν Ηλιου οπισω αυτης Σ	και εβοησεν Ηλιας οπισω αυτης 246: και εβοησεν οπισω αυτης Ηλ(ε)ιου cett. (Ηλιας 19, 108, 93, 127).
3, 17, 11:	ειπεν αυτη Σ	ειπεν αυτη plerique: ειπεν αυτη Ηλιας (19), 108, 82, 93, 127, 246, ειπεν B, A, 243, 245.
3, 17, 12:	συλλεγω Σ	συλλεγω B, A, 247 Syr., Chrys.: εγω συλλεγω 19, 108, cett.
	φαγομεθα Σ	φαγομεθα αυτο A, Syr.: om. 19, 108, cett.
3, 17, 13:	και ειπεν Ηλιου προς αυτην Σ	και ειπεν Ηλειου προς αυτην A, Syr.: και ειπεν αυτη Ηλιας 19, 108, 82, 93, 127: και ειπεν προς αυτην Ηλ(ε)ιου cett.
3, 17, 14:	κυριος ο θεος Ισραηλ Σ (του Ισραηλ b, unus) (post επι) προσωπου Σ (-πον b, unus) πασης της γης Σ	κυριος ο θεος Ισραηλ A, Syr., ✕ multi: κυριος B, N, 19, 108, 82, multi. προσωπου A, Syr., ✕ προσωπον 127: om. cett. πασης της γης nullus: της γης B, A, N, multi: την γην 19, 108, 92, 106, multi.
3, 17, 15:	(post εποησεν) κατα το ρημα Ηλιου Σ	κατα το ρημα ηλιου A, Syr., ✕ 121, 127, 246, 247: om. B, cett.
	(post Ηλιου) και εδωκεν αυτω om. Σ	και εδωκεν αυτω 19, 108, multi: om. B, A, Syr., 127, cett.
	(post αυτης) και απο της ημερας ταυτης Σ	και απο της ημερας ταυτης A, Syr. ✕, 127 ✕: om. cett.

The result seems clear: our text varies from the "Lucianic" tradition as well as from B and has a clear affinity to the group A + Syr., ✕ that is to say the group regarded by Rahlfs and others as Hexaplarian.

At the end of our examination it will be instructive to return for a moment to the Italian group eliminated above. The expert will have gathered already from the specimens quoted above that this text is in agreement with that of Codex B and that it

is almost as remote as possible from the norm of the C-type, although coincidences with special C-type readings are not entirely lacking. If we remember that Battifol (*La Vaticana*, p. 82) suggests that Codex B was brought to Rome from South Italy by Bessarion, we may perhaps risk the suggestion that the B-recension was in liturgical use there at a certain period during the Middle Ages.

We may now turn our special attention to the *ποικιλία*, which are not entirely lacking in our MSS. First we may mention that wherever the MSS differ from each other, the variants are almost always to be found in some MSS of the ordinary type. This assertion cannot, of course, be proved in a short paper. The reader must accept it *bona fide*. We think that a clear idea of the appearance of variants within our MSS may best be gathered from a table of those found in one lesson and we have selected for the purpose the second lesson for Friday of the first week of Lent.*

Gen. 2, 20: *ομοιος αυτω*: cett.

κατ' αυτον: Ox. Bar. 99.

2, 23: hab. *αυτη* cett.

fin. om. *η* Vat. 770.

2, 24: (post *μητερα*) om. *αυτου*: Leningr. 217, 550; Vat. Gr. 768; Barb. 346; Par. Gr. 272, 275, 372; Ox. Bar. 99, Ox. Seld. 32. Hab. *αυτου*: Ath. 20; Saba 98, 147, 247; Blateon 49; Leningr. 51, 218; Crypt. A δ 1, A δ 3, A δ 5, A δ 9; Marc. 13; Vat. Gr. 770, 1842; Barb. 338, 391, 446; Par. Gr. 243, 273; Br. Mus. 36,660; Ox. Laud. 36.

2, 24: (post *γυναικα*) om. *αυτου*: Ath. 20; Blateon 49; Saba 98, 247; Leningr. 51, 218; Crypt. A δ 5, A δ 9; Vat. Gr. 768, 770; Barb. 346; Marc. 13; Par. Gr. 243; Ox. Bar. 99, Ox. Seld. 32, Ox. Laud. 36. Hab. *αυτου*: Saba 147, Leningr. 217, 550; Crypt. A δ 1, A δ 3; Barb. 338, 391, 446; Par. Gr. 272, 273, 275, 372; Br. Mus. 36,660; Vat. 1842 legi nequit.

2, 25: *γυμνοι*: cett. *ομου*: Leningr. 550.

* The readings of Flor. X 27, Reg. 75 and Crypt. A 2 are neglected: Flor. IX 15 does not contain this lesson: there remain 30 MSS.

- 3, 1: *φρονιμωτατος παντων*: cett.
φρονιμωτατος απο παντων: Ath. 20 (del. corr.) Saba 98, 247; Leningr. 218.
- 3, 2: *του εν τω παραδεισω*: Ath. 20; Saba 98, 147, 247; Leningr. 218, 550; Crypt. A δ 1, A δ 3; Vat. Gr. 768, 770, 1842; Barb. 346; Par. Gr. 275; Br. Mus. 36,660; Ox. Bar. 99.
του παραδεισων: Blateon 49; Leningr. 51, 217; Crypt. A δ 5, A δ 9; Barb. 338, 391, 446; Marc. 13; Par. Gr. 243, 272, 273, 372; Ox. Laud. 36 (hiat. Ox. Seld. 32).
- 3, 3: *φαγητε*: Leningr. 550; Marc. 13; Barb. 338, 391, 446; Par. Gr. 272, 372; Ox. Laud. 36.
φαγησθε: Ath. 20; Blateon 49; Saba 98, 147, 247; Leningr. 51, 217, 218; Crypt. A δ 1, A δ 3, A δ 5, A δ 9; Vat. Gr. 768, 770, 1842; Barb. 346; Par. Gr. 243, 273, (275); Br. Mus. 36,660; Ox. Bar. 99, Ox. Seld. 32.
- ουδε μη*: cett.
ουδ' ου μη: Leningr. 550; Marc. 13; Ox. Laud. 36.
- 3, 6: *ορασιν*: cett.
βρωσιν: Leningr. 51.
- καρπου αυτου*: cett.
καρπου: Leningr. 51; Ox. Seld. 32.
- 3, 7: *εγνωσαν*: cett.
επεγνωσαν: Leningr. 550; Barb. 391; 446^{ms.}.
- 3, 8: *της φωνης*: cett.
την φωνην: Crypt. A δ 1; Vat. Gr. 1842.
- hab. του ξυλου*: cett.
om. του ξυλου: Crypt. A δ 1, A δ 3.

- 3, 9: (ante *του ει*) hab. *Αδαμ*: Saba 147; Leningr. 217, 550; Vat. Gr. 1842; Par. Gr. 273; Ox. Bar. 99, Ox. Seld. 32. Om. *Αδαμ*: Ath. 20 (add. corr.); Blateon 49; Saba 98, 247; Leningr. 51, 218; Crypt. A δ 1, A δ 3, A δ 5, A δ 9; Vat. Gr. 768; Barb. 338, 391, 446; Marc. 13; Par. Gr. 243, 272, 275, 372; Br. Mus. 36,660; Ox. Laud. 36; Hab. *Αδαμ Αδαμ*: Vat. Gr. 770; Barb. 346.
- 3, 12: *εδωκας*: cett.
δεδωκας: Vat. Gr. 768, Barb. 346.
- μετ' εμου*: cett.
μοι: Crypt. A δ 1, Ox. Seld. 32 (ante *εδωκας*).
- 3, 14: (post *της γης*): *και απο παντων των ερπετων των ερποντων επι της γης*: add. Ox. Bar. 99; om. cett.
- 3, 16: *τους στεναγμους*: Ath. 20; Saba 98, 247; Leningr. 218; Crypt. A δ 3; Br. Mus. 36,660.
τον στεναγμον: Blateon 49; Saba 147; Leningr. 51, 550; Crypt. A δ 1, A δ 5, A δ 9; Vat. Gr. 768, 770, 1842; Barb. 338, 346, 391, 446; Marc. 13; Par. Gr. 243, 272, 273, 275, 372; Ox. Bar. 99, Ox. Seld. 32, Ox. Laud. 36 (deest P. 217).
- κυριευσει*: cett.
κατακυριευσει: Leningr. 51.
- 3, 19: *ιδροτητι*: Saba 147; Leningr. 218, 550; Crypt. A δ 1, A δ 5, Vat. Gr. 770, 1842; Barb. 338, 346, 391, 446 (?); Par. Gr. 243, 272, 275; Ox. Seld. 32, Ox. Laud. 36.
ιδρωτι: Ath. 20; Blateon 49; Saba 98; Leningr. 51; Crypt. A δ 9, Vat. Gr. 768; Marc. 13; Par. Gr. 372; Br. Mus. 36,660; Ox. Bar. 99 (desunt P. 273, 217, A δ 3, 5247).

The general impression of this scheme is chaos. If you select at random two MSS running parallel in one passage, you must be prepared to find them disagreeing in the rest of the passages listed.

And if perchance you receive the impression from this lesson that two or three MSS form a group, you may be pretty sure, according to our experience, that they will disagree in other lessons.

Thus, one might gather from the list that Saba 247 together with Saba 98 forms a uniform "Saba-group," as indeed we supposed for a long time that they did. But in the only real variant of the second lesson for Christmas, we find them at variance; after *και προνομευσει παντας*, Saba 98 (with Ven. 13, Laura 177 and 190, Ox. Laud. 36) continues: *υιους Σηθ*, while Saba 247 and the other MSS prefix the article to *υιους*. The same is the case in the fourth lesson for Christmas (Is. 11, 2) where Saba 98 (with Saba 147, Ox. Laud. 36 corr., two of the old South-Italian MSS) has *πνευμα θεου*, while Saba 247 (with Vat. Reg. 75 and the rest of the C-MSS) has *πνευμα του θεου*. Also in the fourth lesson for Epiphany (Exod. 14. 21) Saba 98 (with two South-Italian MSS and with Laura 177) gives *υπηγαγε κυριος την θαλασσαν* where Saba 247 has *επηγαγε κτλ.* with the rest of the MSS. Finally in Is. 55, 10 (the second lesson for the benediction of the waters on Epiphany) the words *και συνηγμενοι* are lacking in Saba 247, Flor. IX, 15 and Laura 177 but are kept in Saba 98 and the other MSS.

The same results are found for the MSS which, to judge from the list, might seem to form a group, viz. Par. 272 and 372, Ox. Laud. 36 and Marc. 13. The only real group is made up of three late Italian MSS, Barb. 338, 391, 446 which are apparently descendants of one archetype.

But it is possible to bring some order into this bewildering mass of details. Among the variants three groups can be distinguished: first, purely scribal errors, which, owing to the perfection of the C-type, are rare; second, some readings which are not scribal errors but are found only in very few MSS and which, therefore, need not be considered characteristic of the lectionary tradition; and finally those variants attested by a considerable number of MSS, which are a real factor in the Prophetologion tradition.

A curious point about the last group is the manner in which they make their appearance. For example, if by way of experiment the text is established from the majority of C-type MSS and a new one is collated which, on palaeographical evidence belongs to the same type, it is ten to one that very few new variants will be found, but in places where variants are already listed it will be impossible to guess whether the new MS will go with the majority or

with the minority. Thus, the tradition does not furnish us with a "regle de fer" according to which preference may be given to one or the other of that type of variants.

Before embarking upon the theoretical explanation of this peculiar kind of tradition, it is perhaps not out of place to make two statements of an historical character. Guided by parallels from the tradition of the classics, an increasing number of variants might be expected with the decreasing age of the MSS. Of course there are bad MSS from the later Middle Ages, but there are also a number of MSS dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which preserve the Byzantine type with growing uniformity. Moreover, some few examples lead to the conclusion that variation was greater in the tenth than in the eleventh and later centuries. This suggestion, however, must be left for further investigation.

The outstanding fact is that there existed in the eleventh century a fixed type of text characterized by the presence of a not very considerable number of real variants! This state of things cannot be explained by supposing a deviation from a common archetype, whether by the single extant MSS (or their individual ancestors) or by the possible common ancestors of a group ("sub-archetypi"). Nor would the hypothesis of an archetype containing variants be of any help here. Such an hypothesis can reasonably be applied to some classical authors which were transmitted in copies meant for the use of scholars in a period when there was a high standard of scholarship. In such cases, variants obviously were in their proper place. When such books, in the period of decline, were read and recopied but rarely, there is a chance for a reconstruction of that kind. But a lectionary is meant not for study but for recital—and one cannot recite variants! Consequently, anything like a Lachmannian stemma cannot be applied to our tradition; the lectionary presented in itself diversities and could assume various aspects when regarded at various times from various points of view. Being something like a light-house with a changing light, it was taken as a guide by the many scribes of Prophetologia, but a light-house when observed from one part of the horizon shows red light for all the observers in that quarter and, at the same time, for observers in other places, white. It is impossible to say that either red or white is the only true light: they are of equal value; and the observers who at any given moment make observations, may at another be scattered and observe different colors.

Before trying to transfer this figure in the light of historical probability, we feel it necessary to emphasize, especially for this part of our paper, the tentative character of our suggestions. As far as the earliest phase of the O. T. lessons are concerned, valuable material has been collected by Brightman in his *Eastern Liturgies* and, more recently, Baumstark and Rahlfs, Conybeare and Burkitt have made highly interesting contributions to the subject. From our special point of view, however, only a few relevant facts can be gathered from these researches:

(1) The comparison between the different systems of O. T. lectio solemnis in the various branches of the Christian church shows a few common features. There are lessons which figure for the same feasts in the lectionary systems in use at very distant places. They must be supposed to go back to the very origin of Christianity.

(2) In the Greek church a very important reform took place at some given moment, which relegated the O. T. lessons to the Missa Praesantificationum, which is celebrated chiefly during Lent. The date of this reform cannot be more than approximately³⁰ fixed: it must be later than John Chrysostom and probably also than Maximus Confessor, and before the beginning of the ninth century (the date of the Cod. Barberinus 87).

If we combine these facts with the arguments which may be deduced from the text of the extant MSS of the Prophetologion, we get a series of fixed points which we may in imagination try to combine into a continuous line. At a given moment, probably somewhere during the eighth century, a comparatively fixed type of Prophetologion was created at one given place which, if we remember the evidence set forth above, cannot but be Constantinople. This reform seems to fit in with the general aspect of the end of the eighth century, characterized as it is by the latest phase of the iconoclastic quarrels and the strong and concentrated tendency towards orthodox uniformity which followed. The most important centre of this religious tension is the famous Stoudion, and perhaps we may seek, by way of a mere working hypothesis, the real birth-place of our Prophetologia within its walls. As a

³⁰ Pargoire, *L'église byzantine de 527 à 847*, places this reform between c. 650 and c. 800 (cf. p. 230 and p. 343); de Meester, in Rome, 1908, *Tableau synoptique* (following p. 358) in the eighth century; but canon 51 of the second synod in Trullo shows that it took place shortly after 692 A.D.

basis for the new Prophetologia were taken some carefully selected copies of the traditional Bible, representing the same recension, probably the Lucianic. But of course it was impossible to get copies with absolutely identical texts;³¹ small wonder if, for example, some copies read *του εν τω παραδεισω* (Gen. 3, 2), others *του παραδεισου*. A second element of disagreement was due to the fact that the creators of the new Prophetologion were bound to retain a certain number of lessons familiar to the faithful, e.g. the text of the old lesson about the sacrifice of Elijah to which the faithful had listened for ages at the feast of Elijah ought to remain unchanged, and any attempt to introduce new readings was destined to be overcome by the conscious and unconscious resistance of tradition.

The new and handsome Prophetologia were sent to all the important churches of the orthodox world, and we may safely assume that they were zealously copied and recopied nearly everywhere. In some remote places, however, in South Italy, where the pronouncements of the Patriarch could have but weak repercussions, the authorities did not wish to depart from the text to which the faithful had grown accustomed; therefore they were content to accommodate the choice of the texts to the new scheme.³²

This pursuit of uniformity was not a single act but it made itself felt in the following centuries as a constant force, of course with greater or lesser strength at various periods in the history of the Empire. New lessons were added, and they bear in our MSS

³¹ We think it highly improbable that there existed at this time a single MS giving the text exactly as it was written by Lucian some five hundred years earlier. Even if we grant that such a MS existed (V. Rahlfs, *Septuagintastudien* 3, p. 10, note 1) the kind of tradition mentioned above seems to exclude the possibility of deriving the extant MSS from an archetype. The O. T. tradition is to a large extent characterized by the constant practice of collating the MSS in use with old and venerable copies or with modern and up to date texts. We suppose that the Lucianic readings were not transmitted primarily through the medium of MSS copied directly or indirectly from the archetype written by Lucian himself, but through insertion of the new readings in the copies in use. We have been fortunate enough to have the opportunity of discussing this topic with Prof. K. Latte and were very glad to hear him express opinions in entire agreement with the view set forth above.

³² Cf. above p. 198. The Codex Florentinus, Plut. IX, 15, fairly often gives the continuous text, where, in the normal type, one or more verses are left out. We do not yet know whether this also holds good for the other two old MSS belonging to this group.

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ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ
ΕΙΣ ΕΜΕ

ΤΟΥΤΥΛΙ

ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΣ ΗΣΑΪΟΥ.

ΚΥ ΔΩΤΕ ΜΕ ΟΥ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΕ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΠΩΧΟΙΣ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ
ΟΤΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΜΕΤΕΤΡΙΜ
ΜΕΤΡΟΙΣ ΤΗ ΚΑΡΔΙΑ ΜΕ
ΚΗΡΥΞΑΙ ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩ
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ΩΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩ
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the same mark of uniformity as the old ones. In some cases it may be supposed that lessons which in the first copies of the new Prophetologion were indicated only by a reference-sign (*ῥηται*) were abridged or enlarged; in such cases it became necessary to give the full wording of the lesson. Even here uniformity was attained: witness the lesson from Joshua referred to above (p. 204). A still more unambiguous testimony of the extraordinarily dominating influence emanating from one single centre of the religious life, is the introduction of the same corrections in a number of MSS; this can hardly be explained but by assuming a swift radiation of new teachings from Constantinople, spread over the Eastern Church, through the medium either of new copies sent out from the metropolitan scriptoria or of the anagnostai who had received their training at the patriarchal school and gone out to the provinces eager to recite the Holy Texts in the form adopted by the famous doctors of the capital. Often they wrote new copies themselves (witness the many anagnostai in the colophons); in other cases they were content to introduce the new readings in the old copies they were bound to make use of.

Through these centuries (the tenth to the thirteenth) there runs a broad river of tradition carrying with it an old stock of variant readings and receiving others from brooks derived from other currents of the tradition. The text of the Prophetologion was continually exposed to two influences which counteracted each other: the conservative tendency of uniformity, patronized by the schools of the capital, and the influence exercised by contamination with texts of the MSS of the ordinary Biblical tradition.

We must remember that each copy only furnishes us with a limited view of the contents of the tradition at a given moment. For if we take this expression in its full meaning, it includes the complete text with all the various readings found in all the copies known and used at a given moment; while a single manuscript, even if complete, normally does not give more than one reading in each case. The tradition as a whole has, so to speak, two dimensions, the single MS only one. For the eleventh century, however, from which we possess rich material, we may with some certainty assume that the entire bulk of MSS at our disposal gives a fairly complete picture of the whole tradition. It is possible that more evidence will show that some variants which we are now inclined to classify as peculiar are, in fact, real variants, but great surprises

are hardly to be expected. There is no doubt that in that period the tendency towards uniformity made itself felt to a striking degree.

It is possible, as hinted above, that as far as the earlier centuries are concerned, there was a broader margin of variation, and that the eleventh century tradition represents, if we may use a figure, a narrowing of the river; it is possible also that the course has been far more complicated than we are able now to discern.³³

In order to avoid misunderstanding, we wish to summarize, omitting all hypothetical matter, the chief results of our investigation of the MSS. The tradition of the Prophetologion, as found in the extant MSS, leads necessarily to the following conclusions:

(1) the creation at a given moment of a fixed lectionary type, embodying elements from older strata:

(2) the use for this purpose of fairly—but not completely—uniform copies of the Bible:

(3) a constant influence from one centre upon the text and the contents of the lectionary:

(4) a kind of tradition characterized by the fact that the scribes usually knew great sections of the text by heart and consequently were liable to contaminate unconsciously the text of their originals with readings known to them from the school or from the church.

V

Our last problem must be how to produce an edition of the Prophetologion which will give the clearest possible account of the tradition.

We propose the following general principles:

(1) The text itself must be based upon the evidence found in MSS of the C-type, represented by a nucleus of carefully written MSS from the eleventh century.

(2) Account must be given of all real variants found in Prophetologia from earlier times, so far as available.

(3) If our nucleus contains variants there are three possibilities: (a) the variants, if found only in one MS and unknown in other witnesses to the Septuagint tradition may be regarded as individual

³³ It is possible that by further investigations we may be able to prove the existence of a tradition, established with the same stability in the ninth century as in the eleventh; in this case, of course, our schemes will have to be altered.

errors and consequently totally neglected: (b) variants found only in one or two Prophetologion MSS, but occurring in other Septuagint MSS, may reflect a secondary influence from the Bible; they may be included in the apparatus: (c) variants appearing in a number of our nucleus MSS must be regarded as belonging to the genuine Prophetologion tradition; they are probably as old as the book itself, and therefore are of equal value. As we wish to provide an edition which gives a picture as true as possible of the text which formed, together with *Evangelion* and *Praxapostolos*, the scriptural basis for Byzantine religion, it seems advisable to print in the text itself the readings which were the best known or which met with the least resistance; that is to say that the variant found in the majority of the nucleus MSS must be printed in the continuous text. For the other variants, we must try to find a typographical arrangement by which such readings may be presented as belonging to the core of the tradition. It is not impossible, however, that it will seem necessary to take into account, when pondering the variants of our MSS, those MSS of the ordinary Biblical tradition which belong to groups generally akin to the Prophetologion tradition.

(4) Variants in other MSS not belonging to the nucleus are of little value for our purpose and they certainly will add nothing new to the knowledge of the text. It may, however, be interesting to give the readings from some Prophetologion MSS which represent the most abnormal versions of the text, to give an idea of the amount of variation which arose and therefore of the general background.

The chief aim of the proposed edition of the Prophetologion—as a part of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*—is to enrich our knowledge of an aspect of Byzantine civilization hitherto rather neglected. But during the preparatory work we have encountered many difficulties and been bound to take up many problems, some of them quite new to us, concerning branches of Byzantine philology (matters of religion, liturgy, music and palaeography) as well as the history of Old Testament tradition and of the *lectio solemn*. In the present paper we have summarily treated some of them and we hope that our readers will get the impression that the subject is worth study and that a good edition of the Prophetologion might

be of considerable value for scholars working in various fields of Byzantine philology or engaged in researches concerning the history of the Bible or the Eastern Church. If this is the case, we beg them to remember that the task is difficult, and that it will be to the advantage of the edition for us to receive criticisms and suggestions from experts before the publication of the volume itself.

LITERAL MYSTERY IN HELLENISTIC JUDAISM

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In connection with my recent volume on the mystic gospel of Hellenistic Judaism there seems to have been much perplexity as to whether the terms "initiation," "mystery" and the like were being used "figuratively" or "literally." What has surprised me is that the question has been posed as a dilemma: was the Mystery of Hellenistic Judaism a real, a literal, mystery with rites, or was it only a figurative mystery without them? In reality, for centuries before Philo there had been talk among the Greeks of a literal mystery which had no rites at all, namely the mystery of philosophy.¹

It is well known that the Pythagoreans were deeply influenced by Orphic ideas, and were organized on the model of mystic *θιασοί*, with hearers and an inner group of *μαθηματικοί* who were the only ones to whom the saving truths of the sect were revealed. The difficulty is that we cannot generalize about the way this inner teaching was regarded. It is a fair assumption, however, that the members of the inner group thought that their studies were leading to a genuine *κάθαρσις* of soul which would enable them to escape the cycle of recurrent incarnations.²

Heraclitus seems to have avoided mystic language no more than his followers. An ancient epigram quoted by Diogenes Laertius³ said: "Be not in a hurry to finish the book of Heraclitus the Ephesian. It is obscure. . . . But if a *μύστης* guide you it will be clearer than sunlight." If Heraclitus presented his teaching as a mystery, his Fragment 125 becomes clear: *τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατ' ἀνθρώπους μυστήρια ἀνερωστὶ μυνέονται*. Why should he refer to the things

¹ Interesting material on the earlier *φυσικοί* as mystics, and the bearing of the fact upon Philo's *φυσικοί ἄνδρες* is to be found in Hans Leisegang, "Griechische Philosophie als Mysterion," *Festschrift für Franz Poland (Philologische Wochenschrift, 1932, nos. 35-38)*, 245-252. That material is not repeated.

² That the ancients regarded Pythagoreanism as a mystery is clear at once from Iamblichus, *Pythag. Vit.*, xxii f., 101-105; xxxii, 226-228.

³ ix, 16.

"called mysteries by men" if he were not contrasting them with true mysteries, and if the so-called mysteries were celebrated in an unholy way was there not in his mind a more correct type of celebration? It is notable also that in the *Theaetetus* (155e ff.) where Plato expounds some of Heraclitus' doctrines, he prefaces his exposition with Socrates' warning against letting any of the uninitiated (*ἀμύητοι*) hear it, i.e. "those who think nothing exists but what they can grasp in their two hands." The doctrine itself is stated as the *μυστήρια* of certain clever men.⁴ It would, then, seem possible that Heraclitus' obscurities were deliberately designed to keep the true doctrines intelligible only to those trained in the school to understand them.

Empedocles obviously combined a mystic religion of Orphic base, in which metempsychosis was the primal belief, with a physical theory of the universe. He went about proclaiming his philosophy in the guise of a fallen deity among men who in some way had become "no longer mortal."⁵ Were his physical philosophy and his religion separated by as great a "gulf" as Burnet thinks?⁶ Or did not the saving value of wisdom hinted at in Frag. 132 actually include the cosmology? "Blessed is the man who has gained the notion of divine wisdom; wretched he who has a dim notion of the gods in his heart."

In the writings of Plato these possibilities become actualities. "Philosophy is itself a purification and a way of escape from the 'wheel,'" Burnet says of all Greek thought influenced by Pythagoreanism. But his words and their implication have been overlooked.⁷ The Greek philosophers were scornful of mystic rites precisely because they believed they had found the true way of purification in the purgation of the soul by correct teaching. Burnet may be right that the Pythagoreans gave this mystic meaning to the word philosophy, but it is demonstrable that philosophy was a means of salvation to Plato, and that when we get beyond the

⁴ There is to be sure some doubt that 156a ff. describes a doctrine of Heraclitus himself, though even C. Ritter takes it to be so (*Platon*, II, 97). Taylor's guess (*Plato*, 330) of Hippasus is attractive. In any case here is a doctrine in which Heraclitean and Pythagorean elements are mingled and presented as a mystery.

⁵ Frag., 112.

⁶ *EGP*, 250.

⁷ *EGP*, 83.

propaedeutics of the Dialogues the higher ground is presented as a mystery.

There will never be agreement about the "essential" Plato, any more than about the "essential" Paul or Jesus, for the simple reason that his writings are so broadly suggestive that every one can find in them some justification for his own thought and will inevitably feel that the "essential" element is the one that appeals to himself. In my opinion, the study of Plato should begin with his statement in the Seventh Letter that he never put his philosophy into a book, and had no intention ever of doing so.⁸ If this be taken seriously, it is very doubtful whether any of Plato's main arguments represent his objectives. The Dialogues were only propaedeutic, as mathematics itself was a propaedeutic, beyond which philosophy soared into the empyrean in the secret discourses. This position is closely parallel to that of the mysteries in which, similarly, the outsiders, the *ἀμύητοι*, were in sharp contrast with the *μύσται*. The question of whether these terms in Plato were intended literally or figuratively turns on the existence not of an initiation rite, but of a belief that the process of learning the higher truths was a real purgation and means of salvation.

Fortunately Plato twice defines a mystery for us. Describing the Orphic mystery, he says that its devotees:

persuade not only individuals but even cities that there are atonements (*λύσεις*) and purifications (*καθαρμοί*) for sins by means of sacrifices and pleasures of sport for those who are yet alive and even for those who are dead. These they call *τελετάς* which release us from our sins over there (i.e. in Hades), but for those who do not sacrifice terrible things are in store.⁹

This is put into the mouth of Adimantus and doubtless reflects the general notion in Plato's day of the nature and function of at least the Orphic mystery. Again in the *Phaedo*,¹⁰ Socrates, after praising wisdom as the only true objective of man, says that Ultimate Truth (*τὸ ἀληθὲς τῷ ὄντι*) or true virtue practised with wisdom is a purification from all pleasures and pains.

⁸ *Ep.*, VII, 341c, d. This statement itself had a mystic setting: οὐκ οὐν ἐμὸν γε περὶ αὐτῶν ἔστι σύγγραμμα οὐδὲ μήποτε γένηται· ῥητὸν γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἔσται ὡς ἄλλα μαθήματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῆς συνοουσίας γιγνομένης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ συζῆναι ἐξαιφνης, οἷον ἀπὸ πυρὸς πηδῆσαντος ἐξαφθὲν φῶς, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γενόμενον αὐτὸ ἐαυτὸ ἤδη τρέφει.

⁹ *Rep.*, II, 364e-365a.

¹⁰ 69a-d.

And those who founded the mysteries (τελετάς) seem not to be bad fellows at all, but in reality to have long ago hinted that an uninitiated man (ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος) who comes into Hades would lie in the mud, but that the purified and initiated man (κεκαθαρμένος καὶ τετελεσμένος) would on his arrival there dwell with the gods. So then there are, as those who have to do with the mysteries (τελετάς) say, "Many who bear the wand, but few Bacchi." These latter are in my opinion none other than those who have rightly pursued philosophy.

Socrates goes on to say that this has been his own aim, and that he would very shortly see, when he reached Hades, whether he had succeeded or not. The passage plainly means that the founders of the mysteries were on the right track when they divided the pure from the impure in the future world, but this purity, as they themselves hinted, was not merely ritualistic, since many performed the rites who were not Bacchi. The true purification was something else, which Socrates identifies with true philosophy. Socrates looks forward quite literally to the testing of his success in after life. He had been practising the true mystery in following philosophy.

This notion is later amplified.¹¹ "Philosophizing truly" so purifies the soul that it is separated from every bodily contamination, and is judged on its purity in this sense in Hades. Only freedom from bodily nature can prevent the soul from reincarnation, and only philosophy is the true mystery or initiation which can effect such purity: *εἰς δὲ γε θεῶν γένος μὴ φιλοσοφήσανται καὶ παντελῶς καθαρῶ ἀπύοντι οὐ θέμις ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ.*¹² So those who want to care properly for their souls devote themselves to the *λύσις καὶ καθαρμός* of philosophy.¹³ This *λύσις* consists in philosophy's teaching, that reality lies not in things perceived by the senses, but in the invisible things perceived by the soul.¹⁴

Similar literal statements, that the true philosophy which leads to immaterial reality is the true and only saving mystery, appear elsewhere in Plato's writings. Stesichorus' great speech, which Socrates summarizes in the *Phaedrus*, presents philosophy in exactly the same way. Our fate in successive incarnations is determined entirely by our steadfastness in vision of the immaterial forms.

¹¹ *Phaedo*, 80d ff. The more important passages on philosophy as mystery in Plato have recently been brilliantly discussed by Jeanne Croissant, *Aristote et les Mystères*, Liège et Paris, 1932, 159-164.

¹² *Phaedo*, 82c.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 82d.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 83a-84b; cf. 67c, d.

In its original state before incarnation the soul can stay in the blessed fields viewing Reality (τὸ ὄν) along with pure justice, self-control and ἐπιστήμη, and sharing in the heavenly feast of ambrosia and nectar.¹⁵ In life the soul's charioteer must control his steeds in order to attain the vision and keep it. Apparently the vision must be seen at least once every thousand years or the soul falls. Once a soul has fallen its only salvation lies in recalling glimpses of truth it had caught in former cycles. It is the function of the philosopher to stimulate memories of this kind and this function is "perfecting oneself in the perfect mysteries" and so "becoming truly τέλειος."¹⁶ In a sense this is only an imitation of the ideal mystery. Plato describes again the rapture of the perfect vision in company with the gods:

Beauty was a resplendent thing to see at that time when with the blessed chorus we with Zeus and others with another god beheld the blessed sight and spectacle, and were initiated into what it is right to call the most blessed of the mysteries. This mystery we celebrated when we were more complete (ὁλόκληρος) and not subject to the evils which have subsequently oppressed us: and we who were initiated into these appearances (φάσματα) which are complete (ὁλόκληρα), simple (ἀπλᾶ), calm (ἀτρεμῆ), and happy, and were given the mystic view (ἐποπτεύοντος) into the pure beam, were pure and unstamped with that thing we now bear about called the body, to which we are bound like an oyster.¹⁷

Plato goes on to apply this notion to the subject immediately at hand, the power of beauty to awaken the madness of love. The recent initiate into true beauty finds that human loveliness recalls to him a longing for the higher beauty, whereas the uninitiated desires only to possess the beautiful human form. To the initiate, we may therefore infer, love is really a fresh revelation of τὰ ἐποπτικά.¹⁸

The vision of beauty is presented in exactly the same way in Diotima's speech in the *Symposium*. The first part of her discourse gradually leads to the conclusion that all love, being love of beauty, is really love of immortality, which expresses itself on

¹⁵ *Phaedrus*, 247c-e. On this Orphic banquet see *Rep.*, II, 363c.

¹⁶ *Phaedrus*, 249c: τέλειος αἰὲν τελετὰς τελούμενος.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 250b, c. This last figure was in Philo's mind when he said that at his death Moses "cast off his body which grew around him like the shell of an oyster, while his soul which was thus laid bare desired its migration thence"; *Virt.*, 76. See my *By Light, Light*, 197.

¹⁸ *Phaedrus*, 250d-253c.

the bodily plane in the instinct for physical procreation, and has its spiritual counterpart in the desire to beget, with a noble helpmeet, a noble offspring.¹⁹ True love, therefore, is a desire to beget nobility. To have reached this point in the understanding of love is initiation into the lower stages, and this, she says, Socrates could perhaps achieve.²⁰ But the more advanced degrees of the mystery, τὰ τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά, are probably beyond Socrates' power.²¹ To enter the higher mystery and come to the "things seen," the aspirant begins as a young man with love for a single beautiful body. Thence he comes to appreciate beautiful bodies in general, and at last to recognize that the beauty in each is a common possession, which leads to an apprehension of the Form of Beauty, and a love for all beautiful bodies. The next step is to recognize that spiritual beauty is higher than bodily beauty, until gradually the expanding mind comes to grasp the common beauty manifest in all sorts of spiritual forms, thoughts and deeds of every kind. This will lead to a vision of the "great sea of beauty" itself, the Form of Beauty in a sense much clearer and more accurate than the form previously inferred from beautiful bodies. Previous labor had been directed to this single end, the vision of Beauty itself which is unchanging, pure, unmixed and perfect, and of which beautiful objects, bodies, or thoughts, only in a sense partake. For a person who has achieved this vision, an evil life (φᾶνλος βίος) is no longer possible.²² Here again the vision of the forms, to which true philosophy alone can lead one, is the supreme, the only saving mystery. As the only real mystery it is the literal mystery.

The line of ascent to the mystic ἐποπτικά in the Symposium at once suggests the passage which is probably closer to the Lecture on the Good than anything Plato published: the description of the Dialectical Ladder, and its counterpart the Myth of the Cave, in the *Republic*.²³ Throughout both these descriptions it is clear that the objective is to raise the soul to a vision of the forms, and, supremely, of the Good. Mathematics is introduced as the best

¹⁹ On love as desire for immortality see especially *Symp.*, 206d, e; 207c.

²⁰ ταῦτα τὰ ἐρωτικά ἴσως, ὃ Σώκρατες, κἂν σὺ μνησθῇς: *Symp.*, 209e.

²¹ *Symp.*, 210a. This is of course Socrates' modesty, to suggest the great superiority of Diotima.

²² *Symp.*, 210a-212a.

²³ This is clearly pointed out by Croissant, pp. 159 ff.

preliminary discipline for this process, but, as it represents the realm of *διάνοια* rather than of *νοῦς* or *ἐπιστήμη*, it is only a preliminary. There is no indication whatever, here or elsewhere, that Plato did more than approach the *τελευτή* by means of mathematical analogies intelligible only to the mathematician, but valuable for philosophy as a means rather than an end. Mystical terms are not elaborated in the passage, but appear inevitably when Plato describes the ultimate achievement, the *τελευτῇ εἰς εἶδη*, the coming ἐπὶ *τελευτήν*.²⁴

Plato begins this discussion with the fact that the Good was to the conceptual world what the sun is to the visible world,²⁵ and he returns to this figure in the Myth of the Cave, the Orphic pattern of which has long been recognized. Here escape from the lower world is exactly as in the earlier Dialogues, an emergence from our world of appearance to a final vision of the forms of reality, with their supreme form, the Good. The whole is obviously a description of the "true philosophy" which was the "true mystery," as indeed the *Republic* itself is a passionate attempt to demonstrate that the state can only be saved by citizens trained to see the Realities, and hence competent to direct the lives of others toward what is real and true. It is no figure of speech that Philosophy purifies men's souls and makes them ready for this world and the next. To Plato there was no other escape from the wheel.

In view of the agreement of these passages, and of Plato's statement that his true philosophy is not elaborated in any Dialogue, because it is "unutterable," it seems to me that the bulk of his writings must be understood as propaedeutic. Problem after problem can be posed and left unsolved because the reader is not ready for the solution. It is enough for the Dialogue to stimulate thought, shake confidence in clichés, and drive the reader to the Academy for initiation into the truth.²⁶ Plato often scorns the mysteries about him (though he draws heavily upon Orphic sources) because

²⁴ *Rep.*, 511b, c.

²⁵ *Rep.*, 508b ff.

²⁶ This relation of the ordinary detail of a Dialogue to the real objective of philosophy appears in passing in *Gorg.*, 497c. Here Callicles resents Socrates' pushing him with "trifling" questions. He wants to get on to more important matters. Socrates says that Callicles desires to be initiated into the higher mysteries without first being initiated into the lower; and Socrates keeps Callicles to the lower, as Plato keeps his readers in general, because he knows that Callicles, like all men, must begin at the bottom.

he knew that the frenzied dancing of bacchanals,²⁷ for example, falls pathetically short of accomplishing its objective.

It is clear that Platonism was later presented as the perfect mystery. In the *Epinomis* (986a-d) initiation into the "stars" is said to give immortality, knowledge and virtue.²⁸ In his earlier period, while still under Platonic influence, Aristotle in all probability spoke the same language. J. Croissant's recent and brilliant study, to which reference has already been made, has thrown much new light upon the attitude of Aristotle to mystery. Approaching Aristotle in the way Jaeger has now made inevitable, Croissant first analyzes Aristotle's attitude toward the popular mystery religions and shows that Aristotle's aesthetic *κάθαρσις* is opposed to the mystic notion; although it began as mysticism it changed into an elaborate rationalization of the experience in terms of medical theory. He then shows how Aristotle similarly began with the view that the goal of philosophy is initiation, a mystic vision which was explicitly made the true initiation and mystery, but replaced Plato's Idea of the Good with the higher *νοῦς* of man himself, as the source of that illumination which was the object of philosophy.²⁹ The materials Croissant has gathered are so extensive and so thoroughly analyzed that it would be useless to repeat them. One thing, however, stands out in striking relief: that Aristotle's successors in Hellenistic and Roman times did not lose sight of the fact that he, like Plato, had presented the goal of philosophy as an initiation into Truth, and it is owing to their quotations that we know this phase of Aristotle's development at all. To them Aristotle was like Plato in making Philosophy into the true mystery. One of Croissant's quotations from Plutarch is well worth repeating:

Knowledge of that which is *νοητός*, pure, and simple, flashing through the soul like lightning, at a stroke (*ἅπαξ*) gives one power to attain (*θιγέιν*) and to behold

²⁷ *Laws*, 815c. On Plato's attitude to the popular mysteries see Croissant, 13-20, 53 ff.

²⁸ See the *Introduction* of Albinus (2nd Cent. A.D.) to the writings of Plato, §4 f. (C. F. Hermann, *Appendix Platonica*, Leipz., 1875, 149). The attempt is made to schematize the dialogues from the first stages of refutation up to the full attainment of virtue and thence to mystic vision. *αὐτῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν φύσιν ιστορίᾳ ἐντυγχάνοντες καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ θεολογίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὄλων διατάξει ἀντοψόμεθα τὰ θεῖα ἐναργῶς.*

²⁹ But even at the end the saving power of *θεωρία* in the Nicomachean Ethics is clearly recognizable. See W. Jaeger, *Aristotles*, 100 ff., 164-170.

(προσιδεῖν). Wherefore Plato and Aristotle call this part of philosophy the ἐποπτικόν, when those who have by reason gone beyond objects of opinion, mixed and variform, come to that [Existence] which is simple and immaterial, and in a sense attain unto the pure truth concerning it; this is the goal (τέλος), they think, of perfect (ἐντελής) philosophy.³⁰

Philo is directly in line with this tradition, and the Old Testament was for him a guide to the true philosophy by which man was thought saved by association with the immaterial.³¹ If only this side of Philo was represented the question whether mystic Judaism was really a mystery could be answered in only one way. It was, like Platonism, a true mystery because it was the only way man could achieve salvation from the flesh.³²

But there is another side to Philo's Mystery, as there was another side to Plutarch's mystic thought. From Plato and Aristotle to Plutarch and on to the Neo-Platonists the great religious achievement was the development of the Hellenistic conception of a sacrament. Some men, like Plotinus, could keep to pure mystery in the philosophic sense and seek τὰ ἐποπτικά only by philosophic means. Others, of whom Plutarch is our best example, developed a sacramental notion in which the Platonic kind of mystery was combined with the popular mystic rites. Plutarch practised and admired these not because they were effective in themselves, though like any good sacramentarian he apparently had a deep respect for the *opus operatum*. The real meaning of the ritual act was that it supplied a revelation of truth. The act, like the myth, had value because

³⁰ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 77.

³¹ This is the thesis of my *By Light, Light*.

³² A most interesting passage in Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, I, 176, 1 f.) is mentioned by H. G. Marsh, "The Use of μυστήριον in the Writings of Clement of Alexandria," *Journal of Theol. Stud.*, XXXVII (1936), 68. Clement says that the philosophy of Moses is divided into four parts, the historical, the legislative, the sacerdotal (ὁ ἐστὶν τῆς φύσεως θεωρίας), and the theological, which is ἡ ἐποπτεία, ἣν φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων τῶν μεγάλων ὄντως εἶναι μυστηρίων, but which Aristotle called metaphysics. Clement certainly has this from Philo or another mystic Jew. The passage illustrates beautifully how the Jewish Mystery was oriented by the Jews themselves with Platonic philosophy as mystery. After this essay was in print there appeared Hans von Balthasar's, "Le Mystèrion d'Origène," *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, XXVI (1936), 513-562; XXVII (1937), 38-64. It is a most illuminating sequel to this study for Christian thought. He is discussing "cet intellectualisme alexandrin, pour qui le mystère ne serait qu'une sorte de second lettre derrière le première, dont elle ne se distinguerait pas qualitativement."

it led men into the mystery of immaterial reality in the Platonic sense. From this time on men wanted both a ritual act and a mystic philosophy. The act, for the more perceptive members of the group, was a visible sign of invisible grace; the real mystic experience was essentially not in the visible sign but in the invisible apprehension.

It is obvious that the Jews of Philo's period took a similar view of Jewish rites. I have already shown elsewhere how every detail of the Jerusalem cultus, the temple and its rites, the vestments, victims,³³ and the rest, were allegorized exactly as Plutarch allegorized the rites and robes of Isis and Osiris to show that sharing in the rites was to share in a sacrament which brought to men a mystic salvation.³⁴ Philo did not by any means stop with this. The whole body of ritual laws is similarly allegorized, so that the Jew could feel that each command disclosed a saving revelation of truth in the mystic sense, a saving identification of himself with immaterial reality. Circumcision is valuable in God's sight, Philo explains, for several reasons, but chiefly because it "drives *πονηρὰ δόξα* from the soul, and all other things which are not *φιλόθεοι*."³⁵ It is an outward sign of inward *κάθαρσις*, an inner experience not in the sense of Jeremiah, but in that of Plato and the mysteries.

The sacrifices in the temple are all mystic rites for Philo. The animals and priests alike must be flawless in body as a symbol of the flawless soul offered to God.³⁶ The twelve loaves of showbread symbolize the twelve months of the year in which nature accomplishes its circuit. Bread is used, in contrast to delicacies, because it represents the chief of virtues, *ἐγκράτεια*.³⁷ The bread is accompanied by frankincense and salt which are likewise symbolic. The spectacle of the altar containing these simple things appears ridiculous to people who think in terms of costly banquets, he says, but has a quite different meaning to those who have learned to live in a way pleasing to God, i.e. to those "who have learned to belittle the pleasures of the flesh, and who, disciplining themselves in *θεωρία*

³³ On victims see *Spec.*, i, 162 ff. References to Philo are by the section divisions of Cohn-Wendland. Titles are abbreviated according to the scheme published in *By Light, Light*, pp. xiii f.

³⁴ See my *By Light, Light*, chap. IV.

³⁵ *Spec.*, i, 4-12.

³⁶ *Spec.*, i, 166 ff.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 172 ff.

of the things in nature, have a share in the pleasures and enjoyments of the mind."³⁸

The festivals are similarly interpreted as mystic rites. Philo schematizes them so that there shall be the perfect mystic number ten. The first festival is the "feast of every day," a festival in which man so rises by contemplation that he, while fixed on earth with his body, is in his winged mind a genuine part of the great cosmic cycle, until he finds his joy τῷ καλῷ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, which he regards as the only ἀγαθόν. Joy in its fullest sense is possible only to the supreme Good, which is God, but the true mystic can come in a sense to share it.³⁹ This is the universal festival, the feast of every day, and is obviously a later version of the philosophic mystery of Plato. The Sabbath, the second festival, has not only the physical value of a day of rest, but is important because by the rest of the body the soul is liberated for the θεωρητικὸς βίος.⁴⁰ The New Moon, the third festival, is praised largely in astronomical terms. Behind what Philo says apparently lies reference to the Cosmic Mystery, but the section is not specific.⁴¹ The fourth, the festival of the Passover, makes of every man a priest, and the people who look beyond the letter by allegory, that is Jews who follow the Mystery, see in the feast the celebration or symbol of the great migration from body to spirit, the ψυχῆς κάθαρσις practised by every σοφίας ἐραστής.⁴² The Passover was certainly elaborated in more detailed allegory for the significance of each part of its ritual to mystics, for in one passage Philo says:

So then let us always be well girded and entirely ready, renouncing all delay, for thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία)⁴³ and honor of the Almighty. For we are bidden to keep the Passover, which is the passage from the life of the passions to the practice of virtue, "with our loins girded," ready for service. We must grip the material body of flesh, that is "the sandals" with "our feet" that stand firm and secure. We must bear "in our hands the staff" of education (παιδεία) to the end that we may walk straight and without stumbling through all the affairs of life. Last of all we must eat our meal "in haste," since it is not a mortal passing over, for

³⁸ Ibid., 175 f.

³⁹ *Spec.*, ii, 41-55.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 56-70.

⁴¹ Ibid., 140-144.

⁴² Ibid., 145-149.

⁴³ In *Migr.*, 25 the Passover is ἡ πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα θεὸν εὐχαριστία.

it is called the *πάσχα* of God who is without beginning or end. And rightly is it so called, since nothing is beautiful which is not of God and divine.⁴⁴

In discussing the Unleavened Bread of the fifth festival Philo calls it "the clearest symbol (*δείγμα*) of the unmixed food (*ἀμιγῆς τροφή*)" which is prepared by *φύσις*.⁴⁵ The sixth festival, that of the dedication of the Sheaf, leads Philo into a long digression on the notion that the Jewish nation is, as a group, a nation of priests for the whole world. As they have been purified by *οἱ ἀγνευτικοὶ καθάριοι*, the study and discipline of the Law, so in this feast they make an offering for the whole world. What they offer is a consecration to *φύσις* (here, as frequently in Philo, God) of her products, the supreme *εὐχάριστος*, so that man can thereafter use the fruits of the soil without sin (*ἀνυπαίτιον*).⁴⁶ In spite of the general lack of "allegory" in the sense of mystic interpretation in the *Exposition*, a single sentence in the explanation of the seventh festival, that of First Fruits, lifts us to a glimpse of what the offering meant for mystics. In this case, Philo says, the First Fruits is offered in the form of a leavened cake or loaf which is "a material (*αἰσθητῆς*) *εὐχαριστία* by means of leavened loaves of the invisible *εὐπάθεια* in our mind (*διάνοια*)." This comes very close indeed to the "visible sign of an invisible grace." In a more mystic writing this must have been much expanded,⁴⁷ and in *de Sacrif. Ab. et Caini* 52-87, a long allegory is evolved, based upon the contrast between Cain's offering and the true offering of "First Fruits," with which the "buried cakes" of Sarah are associated. The feast of First Fruits, with its bread, is obviously at the background of the whole passage, one of the most mystical in Philo. Sarah's cakes are "buried"

⁴⁴ *Sacr.*, 63; cf. *Congr.*, 106; *LA*, iii, 94; *Heres*, 255. In *LA*, iii, 165 the "step forward" is the *πρόβατον*, the Paschal lamb.

⁴⁵ *Spec.*, ii, 150-161, especially 161. In *Congr.*, 161-168 the unleavened bread is elaborately allegorized. It is *τερόν*, and its nourishment inspires *φιλία τοῦ καλοῦ*; it is a feeding on *τὰ παιδείας δόγματα*.

⁴⁶ *Spec.*, ii, 162-175. In *ib.*, i, 270-272 he similarly makes the perfect sacrifice a *εὐχαριστία*. A man must come to the sacrifice pure in body, and purified in soul by *σοφία καὶ τὰ σοφίας δόγματα*, as well as by the other virtues. Then his true sacrifice will be the offering of himself, singing hymns aloud, to be sure, but giving the true *εὐχαριστία* by projecting his *νοητά* to God alone. In *ib.*, 286-288 the fire unextinguished on the altar represents the *εὐχαριστία*, the perfect sacrifice, in the heart; it also represents the *φῶς διανοίας*, divine *σοφία* or *ἐπιστήμη*, leading the soul to *θεωρία τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοητῶν*.

⁴⁷ *Spec.*, ii, 176-187. Mystic numerology is also connected with the feast.

(one of the inmost secrets of the Mystery) because they are the food of the Mystic Three. Various other sacred meals, including manna, are also included in the discussion, which seems entirely to have forgotten its starting point and objective until Philo suddenly concludes that all this is the true First Fruits. I suspect that the passage is purposely made almost unintelligible lest it fall into the hands of the "uninitiated," for every comer, he says (§60), may not understand the *θεῖα ὄργια*, the divine rites. These rites seem to be the mystic explanation of the Jewish festivals. Here the bread seems a sacrament of complete dedication, spiritual food, given to one who has abandoned the body and dedicated the perfect "First Fruit," his own *ψυχή*.

The eighth festival which Philo calls that of the "Sacred Month," is the New Year. In this Philo is chiefly concerned with the ceremony of the Trumpet, the Shofar, so frequent in Jewish inscriptions. To him the whole festival parallels closely the *ιερομηνία* of the Greeks, the period of armistice which was proclaimed among the Greeks for the sacred games.⁴⁸ So the trumpet, ordinarily a signal for war, in the festival proclaims cosmic peace. In the more allegorical interpretation, the "trumpet of peace in the soul torn by conflict" was the Logos, we learn from the Pseudo-Justinian *Oratio*.⁴⁹

The Festival of the Fast (Day of Atonement) is the ninth festival. It is celebrated as a fast in order to turn men from the material to the immaterial. The transitory can never truly nourish. In the absence of ordinary food God fed the fathers with manna from heaven, instead of unspiritual (*ἄψυχος*) food.⁵⁰ So men are turned from the things ministered (*τὰ χορηγούμενα*) to the one who ministers (*χορηγός*) in exalted worship. This festival is certainly a mystic sacrament for Philo. It is celebrated on the tenth of the month to bring in the mystic associations of the perfect number ten. The hierophant (Moses) has established the fast on the tenth not to lead us into bodily hunger, but to enable the shining (or translucent, *διανγές*) and pure (*καθαρόν*) dampness which comes from the *λογικὴ πηγὴ* to be borne into the soul, so that the soul can feast

⁴⁸ See Heinemann in L. Cohn, *Die Werke Philos... in deutscher Ueberset.*, II, 159, n. 4.

⁴⁹ *Spec.*, ii, 188-192. See *By Light, Light*, 303.

⁵⁰ Manna is abundantly cited as a symbol of mystical food: see *By Light, Light*, 208.

itself on "the things really worthy of being seen and heard (τὰ θεὰς καὶ ἀκοῆς ἀξία)", i.e. clearly, on the true mystic ἐποπτικά and teachings.⁵¹

The tenth festival is that of the Tabernacles. It is celebrated in the early autumn, just before the Jewish New Year, and so is the culminating feast of the year. By numerology it is made to represent the achievement of all that has been attempted in the early festivals, the final passing over from the boundary of the material to the immaterial. The text is too corrupt for satisfactory rendering, but its purport is clear.⁵²

At the end Philo briefly summarizes. All the festivals have sprung from a common mother, the number seven, and minister to bodies by giving them a splendid regimen (ἀβροδιαίτος); the festivals minister to souls by philosophy.⁵³

What is this philosophic doctrine of the festivals or Jewish ἔργια?⁵⁴ We are beginning to see that the true celebration of a festival was its use as a sacrament, a step from the material to the immaterial life and being of God. In one passage in the *Allegorical Writings* Philo begins specifically to answer the question: what is the God-given principle (δόγμα) of the festivals for the mystic associates of philosophy (οἱ φιλοσοφίας θιασῶται);⁵⁵ but he is led into a digression from which he never extricates himself. He begins:

The δόγμα is this: God alone in the true sense keeps a festival. Joy and gladness and rejoicing are His alone; to Him alone it is given to enjoy the peace which has not element of war [this is the New Year's Trumpet].⁵⁶

So Philo goes on to a long description of God in His perfection of nature and happiness. We are reminded that in the *Phaedrus* the

⁵¹ *Spec.*, ii, 193-203; esp. 199, 202.

⁵² *Ib.*, 204-213; esp. 212.

⁵³ *Ib.*, 214.

⁵⁴ In *Spec.*, i, 269 Philo indicates, what is to be suspected, that the allegory of rites in this, a part of the *Exposition*, is only a superficial treatment. Another treatise contained the full allegory. Whether that "other treatise" was the lost part of the *Quaestiones* or not, a natural assumption, it is clear that much as is here, Philo's real understanding of the ritual was still more allegorical, and presumably more mystical, than what we now have. On the fact that the *Exposition*, a series of works designed for proselytes, is highly restricted in allegory, see my "Philo's Exposition of the Law and his De Vita Mosis," *HTR*, XXVII (1933), 109-125.

⁵⁵ *Cher.*, 85 ff.

⁵⁶ *Ib.*, 86.

only true mystery was that of the heavens in which the gods participated. In contrast to this festival of God Philo describes at length the sinfulness of pagan festivals which seem devoted entirely to fleshly riotings. The Jewish festival, we are left to infer, is an imitation of the true festival of God, not a sharing in human and material nature, but a transition, as far as man can go, to the realm of divine existence.⁵⁷

Philo does not discuss any special meal which was the "sacred table or food" of the ἀληθεῖς τελεταί,⁵⁸ that food to which those unpurified must not be admitted, but he might have said it, apparently, of the Passover, of the Unleavened Bread, or of any Jewish festival, so truly has he made the festivals into mystic sacraments. That mystic Jews had a special rite of initiation is not apparent in our evidence, but that they formed special groups for celebrating the Jewish "sacraments" in their own way with their own explanations and comments seems almost inevitable from what Philo says.

It has appeared that the mystic Jew saw the supreme revelation of saving truth in his Torah, when properly understood by allegory, and felt that because he had unique access to and revelation of the immaterial world, he had the true Mystery, αἱ ἀληθεῖς τελεταί. He had the true Mystery in the Platonic sense, the truly saving philosophy of the purely Good and Beautiful, and he had it also in the sense that he, and he alone, had the divine ὄργια, the right celebration of which meant coming into the fellowship and joy of the immaterial reality of God Himself. However we may now want to use the term, the mystic Jew himself gloried in the fact that his was not only a "real" mystery, but the only real one.

⁵⁷ A similar idea is developed in *Spec.*, i, 193. In contrast to heathen riots God summons the Jews to their festivals first with the command that they "go into the sanctuary to share in the hymns, prayers, and sacrifices in such a way that both from the place and from the things they see (ὁρώμενα) and hear . . . they may come to love ἐγκράτεια and εὐσέβεια"; and thirdly that they may be warned from sinning by the sacrifice for sin, for, while a man seeks λῶσις from sins he will hardly be planning new offences. The ὁρώμενα καὶ λεγόμενα, as well as the λῶσις, show at once that to Philo the temple service was a mystic rite.

⁵⁸ *By Light, Light*, 260 f.

THE SUPPLICATIO AND GRAECUS RITUS

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In a recent discussion Hoffmann has taken exception to the generally accepted view that the *supplicatio* was closely associated with the *lectisternium*.¹ He emphasizes the Roman origin of the former rite, and points out that the two ceremonies rarely occur at the same time; moreover, when they are celebrated on the same occasion, a careful distinction is made between them. Their one real connecting link is, in his opinion, the phrase *ad omnia pulvinaria* which is used to describe the *supplicatio*. This phrase is however not always used, and is not recorded before the year 218 B.C. Hoffmann suggests that in this year the *supplicatio* was for the first time celebrated at the *pulvinaria*, where the *lectisternia* were held. He thinks that at this time Roman ritual had become thoroughly hellenised. As an example he points to the inclusion of characteristically Roman deities in the *lectisternium* of 217 B.C.

Hoffmann's objection to the stress laid on the Greek elements in the *supplicatio* may be carried even a little farther. Wissowa, in discussing the subject admits that the *supplicatio* was originally a Roman custom but adds, "Aber zu einer fest geregelten gottesdienstlichen Handlung wurden die Supplicationen erst innerhalb des *graecus ritus*: dass sie zu diesem gehören, zeigt einerseits die Tatsache dass die öffentliche Fürbitte oder Danksagung geschieht *ad* (oder *circa*) *omnia pulvinaria*, andererseits der Umstand dass sie in der Regel nach Befragung der Sibyllinischen Bücher von den *decemviri sacris faciundis* angeordnet werden und den letztern auch die Leitung zusteht."² Hoffmann has pointed out that the

¹ W. Hoffmann, *Rom und die griechische Welt im 4. Jahrhundert*; *Philologus*, Supplementband XXVII, p. 68-83, 135-138.

² *Religion und Kultus*², p. 424.

He maintains this attitude in his later, more detailed article, *P. W.*, s. v. *Supplicationes*, in which he says (949): "Dieses sehr starke Überwiegen der Sibyllinischen Bücher sowie die gelegentliche Verbindung der *Supplicatio* mit den *Lectisternien* und die Feier der *Supplicatio ad omnia pulvinaria* . . . berechtigen zu dem Schlusse, dass die Supplicationen wenn auch von Haus aus vielleicht römischen Ursprungs doch in verhältnissmässig früher Zeit in den Bereich der Akte des *graecus ritus* hineingezogen worden sind."

celebration *ad omnia pulvinaria* was really more the exception than the rule. He cites ten instances, to which I can add three more, in which the phrase was used. Since in the books of Livy alone there are, as far as I know, sixty occurrences of *supplicationes*, those which took place at the *pulvinaria* form a small part, less than a quarter of the total. This fact certainly supports Hoffmann's objection, but it still seems somewhat hazardous to refer to the *supplicatio* of 217 B.C. as the first occasion on which *pulvinaria* were used in this ceremony. The loss of the second decade of Livy has made a gap in our evidence for the years preceding the Hannibalic war which must make almost any conclusion dealing with that period tentative. The *supplicatio* may however be taken as a problem in itself and not, as is usually done, as a piece of evidence for or against the presence of Greek influence. A new question then arises. If the *supplicatio* originally had no connection with the *lectisternium*, why should we assume that the two rites were later associated, simply on the strength of the phrase, *ad omnia pulvinaria*?

The first point which comes up is the nature of the *pulvinar*. What was it like and how could a *supplicatio* be celebrated at it? We know that at a *lectisternium* images of the gods or objects representing them were placed upon couches to partake of a festal meal.³ Such couches were called *pulvinaria* and formed part of the regular equipment of many temples. When not in use they must have been kept inside the temple. During a *supplicatio* the people gathered at the temples to pray or to give thanks. It seems to have been characteristic of the occasion that the temples, which normally were kept closed, were then opened so that the general public might enter.⁴ Apparently the circumstances called for closer communion with the god. In such a ceremony what part could the god's couch play? Certainly within the temple the god's image and not the couch would receive the prayers addressed to him. Why should the locality of the ceremony be indicated by one piece of the temple equipment? Warde Fowler apparently visualizes the *pulvinar* as a separate structure outside the temple. He says "in the fourth and third centuries advantage was taken of the *pulvinaria* to use them as stopping places in the procession of a

³ P. W., s. v. *Lectisternium*.

⁴ Livy XXX, 17, 6. Cf. III, 7, 7; V, 23, 3; VIII, 33, 20; XXX, 40, 4; XLV, 2, 6.

supplicatio."⁵ Perhaps he had in mind an outdoor *triclinium* something like those connected with the tombs at Pompeii⁶ and in the newly excavated cemetery at Isola Sacra. There is however no evidence for such structures nor, as far as I know, has one ever been found connected with a temple. Either interpretation of the word would be difficult in a passage in Livy which says "*dona ad omnia pulvinaria dabuntur.*"⁷ We know of course that the commonest meaning for *pulvinar* was "couch" but the difficulty of visualising it in relation to a *supplicatio* suggests that in this case the word may have been used with some other meaning. Is there any evidence of a secondary meaning for *pulvinar*?

A piece of evidence of vital importance in this connection which appears to have been generally overlooked is preserved by the Pseudo-Acron Scholiast on Horace, Car. I, 37, 3. He says, *Pulvinaria dicebantur aut lecti deorum aut tabulata, in quibus stabant numina ut eminentiora viderentur.* A *pulvinar* might then be an elevation upon which the images of the gods or the cult objects representing them might be placed. Strictly speaking the word *tabulata* implies the use of wooden planking; we may picture a wooden platform or dais. The scholion alone might have no great value, were it not that there are instances of exactly such arrangements in some Republican temples. At Gabii, in the so-called temple of Juno, one can see the holes in the side walls for the beams which supported a platform at the rear of the cella. In the floor, where the front of the platform would have come, is a stone threshold.⁸ Apparently the space under the platform was used for the storage of sacred objects, as was probably the case in the Capitolium, of later date, at Pompeii, where there is a similar construction carried out in concrete.⁹ It is probable that the Capitolium at Florence in its first period and Temple C at Marzabotto were equipped in the same way.¹⁰ A small model of a temple or house from Velletri, now in the Villa Giulia Museum and dated by Della Seta in the VI-V century, has a platform at the rear of the cella, with two little compartments under the platform.¹¹

⁵ *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 265.

⁶ Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 424-425. Fig. 245.

⁷ XXXVI, 2, 4.

⁸ Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium* II, 5-10 pls. 4-6.

⁹ Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 65. Cf. Lake *MAAR*: XII, 1935, p. 131-134.

¹⁰ Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 93-98, 114-117.

¹¹ Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, p. 213, no. 12641.

What is the basic idea which underlies the connection between two such different meanings for the same word as couch and platform? *Pulvinus* from which *pulvinar* is derived usually means a cushion, and *pulvinar* is interpreted as the couch upon which cushions are laid.¹² But in the agricultural writers we find that *pulvinus* can also mean a mound or a dike.¹³ Apparently it can refer to *something* elevated above the ground level, and the same meaning can be carried over to the derivative. *Pulvinar* would then have a secondary meaning of couch, which became the common one.

With these considerations in mind, we can perhaps expand the interpretation of *pulvinar* as the platform within the temple to a wider meaning, in order to explain some other curious references. Livy in Book XXIV, 10, 13, tells us that, after certain prodigies had been expiated at the instructions of the haruspices, a *supplicatio* was held *omnibus deis quorum pulvinaria Romae essent*. This might be interpreted as meaning all the gods in Rome who possessed ceremonial couches and could be included in Greek ritual. Since however the *lectisternium* of 217 B.C. had shown before this that distinctions were no longer being carefully drawn between Greek and native gods, one would scarcely expect to find such a limitation being imposed in this case. On the other hand we cannot imagine that the gods whose images were supported by platforms formed a category of their own. Apparently in this case *pulvinar* has a wider meaning which includes the basic idea of an elevation.

We know that in Rome there were many cult places which were not temples. The Ara Maxima, the Ara Pacis, the altar of Mars in the Campus Martius, the old Apollinar in the Prata Flaminia, and the Volcanal are examples.¹⁴ In many places in Italy there have been found cult places, such as the two altars, B and D, at Marzabotto,¹⁵ and the tomb of Romulus in the Forum,¹⁶ which consist simply of a platform with no superstructure. I would suggest

¹² A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*². s. v. *pulvinus*.

¹³ Varro, *R. R.* I, 35, 1. Col., XI, 3, 20. For other rare usages of a similar nature, see Col. I, 6, 13, Vitruv, V, 12, 3. In the latter *pulvinus* is used to refer to the foundation of a pier.

¹⁴ For bibliography see Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*.

¹⁵ For description and bibliography, see Lake, *MAAR*, XII, 1935, p. 145.

¹⁶ For bibliography see Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s. v. *Sepulcrum Romuli*.

that *pulvinar* might as a technical term include all cult places raised above the level of the ground, whether or not a superstructure were added. The convention of building temples upon high *podia* not only points to the importance attached to such elevation in Roman religion, but also explains how temples could be included under the definition of *pulvinaria*. Such an interpretation would also explain the nature of the sanctuary on the Quirinal, known as the *pulvinar Solis*.¹⁷ As a technical phrase, then, *ad omnia pulvinaria* would have a slightly different shade of meaning from the common *ad omnia templa*. *Templum* is often used by the ancient writers in a general way as the equivalent of *aedes*, but strictly speaking it may refer to any consecrated area, such as the *templum* marked out for the taking of the auspices, and need not refer to a place of worship. *Aedes* refers to the actual shrine. *Pulvinar* would then be something between the two: a cult place, probably a *templum*, which might or might not have an *aedes*, but always was elevated above the ground.¹⁸ It would moreover probably be a type of sanctuary native to Italy, without any Greek connections.

In attempting to prove that the *supplicatio* first gained official status under the *Graecus ritus*, Wissowa states as his second point that the ceremony was usually decreed after the consultation of the Sibylline books by the *Decemviri sacris faciundis*.¹⁹ If this were true it would certainly prove that the *decemviri* had taken over the *supplicatio* and probably adapted it to Greek ritual, but the facts do not seem to support such an hypothesis. In the time of Cicero we find that the *supplicatio* is a very common occurrence,

¹⁷ Jordan Huelsen, *Topographie* I, 3, 406. Koch (*Gestirnverehrung im alten Italien, Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike*, Band III, 1933, pp. 30-33) denies the Greek origin of this cult, which was affirmed by Wissowa. (*Religion und Kultus*², p. 316 ff.) He associates the *pulvinar solis* with the *pulvinaria* of the Circus Maximus and points out the Etruscan connections of the Circus games. According to the theory suggested in this paper, however, these *pulvinaria* would be simply platforms in the Circus on which the representations of the gods were placed during the games. If this is true, there is no connection between the *pulvinaria* of the circus and the couch depicted in the Tomba del letto Funebre, and the latter can no longer be used as evidence for the Etruscan origin of the games.

¹⁸ This interpretation would explain the confusion in the mind of Servius when he says (Geor., III, 332) "nam ita et pulvinaria pro templis ponimus cum sint proprie lectuli. . . ." He is aware of the wider meaning of *pulvinar* but confuses it with the idea of the words.

¹⁹ *Religion und Kultus*, p. 424.

but is little more than an official thanksgiving, decreed in every case by the senate.²⁰ By this time it had apparently become the rule that a *supplicatio* was decreed in the name of a particular man, in order to honor his military achievement. Cicero points with pride to the *supplicatio* held in his name after he suppressed the Catilinarian conspiracy, emphasizing the fact that he was then a *togatus*, not a soldier.²¹

In order to trace the development of the *supplicatio* which resulted in the type of celebration customary at the end of the Republic, I have collected all the instances of a *supplicatio* which I have been able to find in the extant books of Livy. All together they number sixty.²² In twenty of these cases we are specifically told that the senate ordered the celebration; in twenty-one cases some phrase such as *supplicatio indicta*, *decreta*, or *habita* is used, which would imply that the senate had ordered it; in two cases the *supplicatio* was celebrated at the suggestion of the pontiffs; in seventeen cases the *decemviri* recommended the celebration. In other words the *decemviri* influenced little more than a quarter of the instances in which a *supplicatio* was held. A further analysis of the statistics presents some more interesting conclusions. Up to the end of book XXXIII twenty-nine *supplicationes* are recorded, of which only two were suggested by the *decemviri*, one in Book XXI, and the other in Book XXII. It is recorded in Book XXXIV that in 193 B.C. an emergency arose, because there were so many earthquakes that the consuls' entire time was taken up in services of expiation, and the business of the state came to a standstill. The *decemviri* were called upon and ordered a *supplicatio ad omnia pulvinaria*, which was performed by citizens who are now for the first time described as *coronati*. After this time, up to the end of Book XLV thirty-three *supplicationes* are recorded. Fifteen of these were suggested by the *decemviri*, seven in the 4th decade and eight in the fifth. In other words, until 193 B.C. the *decemviri* very rarely suggested a *supplicatio*, but did so quite frequently after that date. They had however in no way monopolized the institution. It is interesting to note also that while we have recorded thirteen *supplicationes* held during the second Punic War,

²⁰ See references under *Supplicatio*, Merguet, *Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero*, v. IV.

²¹ *In Pisonem*, 6.

²² For the numbers given here see the references compiled in the table on p. 250.

only two of these are connected with the *decemviri*. In view of this fact we can scarcely accept Warde Fowler's idea that the *supplicatio* was one of the points upon which the exotic influence of the *decemviri* seized during the hysterical days of the war.²³

From the statistics outlined above it seems a reasonable conclusion that the *supplicatio* was not closely connected with the *decemviri*. We have already seen that the *pulvinaria* are not necessarily indications of Greek influence. Both arguments for the position of the *supplicatio* under the *Graecus Ritus* have thus been very materially weakened. The *supplicatio* appears rather to have been a regular part of the Roman ritual, which the *decemviri* advised more and more frequently after the end of the Hannibalic war. They occasionally introduced into it elements from Greek ritual, but these were not permanent additions to the ceremony for we hear nothing of them when the senate had decreed the celebration. An example of this introduction of new elements may be seen in the custom of wearing wreaths during the *supplicatio*.

In discussing the *supplicatio* Wissowa says: "Die Bekr nzung aller Teilnehmer, die nur bei auf Geheiss der Sibyllinischen B cher angeordneten Supplicationen erw hnt wird sicher griechischen Brauche entlehnt."²⁴ What was the connection between the custom of wearing a wreath and the *supplicatio*? Some light may be shed on this point by the well known story of Q. Fabius Pictor's trip to the oracle at Delphi.²⁵ Livy says that in 216 B.C. he returned to Rome with a written answer, in which was stated, *Divi divaeque . . . quibus quoque modo supplicaretur*. After reading the oracle to the Senate he reported that he had sacrificed at Delphi to the gods involved, and that, at the special order of the priest, he had done so wearing a laurel wreath. He had not laid the wreath aside until he arrived in Rome where he placed it, doubtless a little the worse for wear, upon the altar of Apollo. The senate then decreed, *Eae res divinae supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fierent*. The wearing of the wreath which played so large a part in his own rites must have been one of the details included in the message which Fabius brought back with him, and must therefore have been observed in the subsequent celebrations

²³ *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 314-331.

²⁴ *P. W. s. v. Supplicationes*. The instances on which the people were *coronati* are recorded in Livy, XXXIV, 55, 4; XXXVI, 37, 5; XL, 37, 3; XLIII, 13, 8.

²⁵ Livy, XXII, 57; XXIII, 11.

in Rome. It has been suggested that Fabius was one of the *decemviri*,²⁶ and while this cannot be proved it seems highly probable. The interest which the college showed in this detail of ritual, when they introduced it into later *supplicationes* may be traced to the influence of Fabius.

The results of the foregoing discussion may be summarized by saying that neither the phrase *ad omnia pulvinaria* nor the connection with the *decemviri* prove the existence of Greek elements in the *supplicatio*. It was a native Roman rite, which might be celebrated in any place in which a cult was carried on. The *pulvinar* was probably a native place of worship, and the application of the term to the couch used in Greek ritual was a later development. The connection of the *decemviri* with the *supplicatio* was the exception rather than the rule, and their influence, in details such as the introduction of the wreath into the ritual, was only shown on special occasions.

Table of Supplicationes Recorded by Livy

<i>Decreed on Authority of Senate</i>	<i>Held at Suggestion of Decemviri</i>	<i>Authority Unspecified</i>
III, 7, 7.		X, 45, 1.
V, 23, 3.		X, 47, 7.
X, 23, 1.		
XXII, 1, 16.	XXI, 62, 6, 9.	XXI, 17, 4.
XXIII, 11, 6.	XXII, 9, 10.	XXIV, 10, 13.
XXVII, 51, 8.		XXV, 7, 9.
XXVIII, 11, 5.		XXVII, 4, 15.
		XXVII, 11, 6.
		XXVII, 23, 7.
XXX, 1, 11.	XXXIV, 55, 3.	XXX, 40, 4.
XXX, 17, 3.	XXXV, 9, 5.	XXXI, 9, 6.
XXX, 21, 10.	XXXVI, 37, 5.	XXXII, 9, 4.
XXXI, 8, 2.	XXXVII, 3, 5.	XXXIII, 37, 9.
XXXII, 1, 14.	XXXVIII, 36, 4.	XXXV, 21, 2.
XXXII, 31, 6.	XXXVIII, 44, 7.	XXXV, 40, 7.
XXXIII, 24, 4.	XXXIX, 46, 5.	
XXXIV, 42, 1.		
XXXVI, 2, 2-6.		
XXXVI, 21, 9.		
XXXVII, 47, 4.		

²⁶ Diels, *Sybyllinische Blätter*, pp. 11, 13.

*Decreed on
Authority of
Senate*

XL, 28, 9.

XLV, 2, 8.

*Held at
Suggestion of
Decemviri*

XL, 19, 4.

XL, 37, 3.

XL, 45, 5.

XLI, 21, 10.

XLII, 2, 6.

XLII, 20, 2.

XLIII, 13, 8.

XLV, 16, 6.

*Authority
Unspecified*

XL, 2, 4.

XL, 53, 3.

XLI, 9, 7.

XLI, 13, 3.

XLI, 28, 1.

XLI, 28, 2.

XLII, 20, 6.

*Held at
Suggestion of
Pontifices*

XXVII, 37, 4.

XXXIX, 22, 4.

A SELLISTERNIUM ON THE PARTHENON FRIEZE?

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Greek and Roman religious ceremony, like religious ceremony in general, was constantly concerned with securing the presence of the gods. Sometimes there were very concrete preparations to receive the gods. Couches and tables were prepared for banquets to which the gods were summoned. Again thrones and chairs were made ready for the gods to witness spectacles given in their honor. For such banquets and spectacles the couches and chairs were prepared with due ritual and equipped with cushions and drapery and images or symbols of the gods.

Although Greek inscriptions record the draping of couches and chairs for these ceremonies, we must go to Roman religious language to find the special words, *lectisternium* and *sellisternium*, for their preparation. The *lectisternium*, a banquet at which couches were prepared for a number of divinities, was celebrated at intervals in the fourth and third centuries, beginning in the year 399 B.C. The ceremony followed not Roman religious traditions but the Greek rite, and, like all Greek ritual at Rome, it was under the direction of the priests of the Greek Sibylline oracles. *Sellisternia* too, the preparation of chairs for the gods, were, at least in the secular games, carried out under the Greek rite.¹ The thrones of the gods were cushioned and draped and provided with symbols of the gods. The drapery, Festus tells us, consisted of Babylonian coverlets called *solitaria*.² Such chairs were used for seats of goddesses, whom Greek and Roman ritual did not permit to recline at banquets. But they were also used for both gods and goddesses as seats to enable them to witness spectacles in their honor. The

¹ On the *lectisternium* see the articles by Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa and by Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg and Saglio. On the *sellisternium* see the articles by L. R. Taylor and A. L. Abaecherli, *Class. Phil.* XXX (1935), 122 ff.; 131 ff. The *sellisternia* of the secular games are recorded in *C. I. L.* VI, 32323-9 and in the new inscription published in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1931, 313 ff.

² Festus, p. 386 L. *Soliar sternere dicuntur, qui sellisternium habent, et sol<i>aria vocantur Babylonica, quibus eadem sternuntur.*

chairs of gods and goddesses were carried in the procession to the Roman theatre at the scenic games. We have our fullest evidence for them in the records of the emperors who had their chairs taken to the Roman theatre with the chairs of the gods.³ There are in Munich three marble seats (Fig. 1) draped for a *sellisternium*, and on two series of Flavian coins there are representations of the chairs draped and adorned with symbols of gods and emperors (Fig. 2).⁴ The seated gods of the theatre are referred to by Lucretius in a line (IV, 79) which has been needlessly emended by scholars who have not understood it. The red and yellow and blue awnings of the theatre, Lucretius says, dye with color the outlines of the stage and the figures of fathers and mothers and gods:

Scaenai speciem patrum matrumque deorum
Inficiunt.

Ritual at Rome made careful provision for the draping of couches and chairs, charging with the task important people in the state, the senators for the *lectisternium* of Saturn in 217 B.C.,⁵ the hundred and ten representative matrons with the empress at their head for the *sellisternia* of the secular games. The rites, following as they did the provisions of Greek ritual, may in themselves be taken as evidence for similar rites in Greek cities with which Rome had come in contact. For the *lectisternium* there is, moreover, Greek evidence to show that the ceremony was familiar in the fifth century;⁶ for the *sellisternium* the Greek evidence is, as we shall

³ Dio XLIV, 6, 3; cf. LIII, 30, 6; LVIII, 4, 4; LXXI, 31, 2; LXXIII, 17, 4; LXXIV, 4, 1; Tac. *Ann.* II 83.

⁴ Fig. 1 is from G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Fig. 285. See Furtwängler, *Glyptothek*, nos. 327, 346, 347. On two of the chairs are traces of the symbols which were once placed on them. The seats were found in Rome on the Caelian. Fig. 2 shows *aurei* of Titus and Domitian from Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Pl. 45 and 46. a. Winged thunderbolt of Jupiter on draped *sella*; b. Helmet of Minerva on draped *sella*; c. *Bisellium* with wreath, for the living emperor?; d. *Fastigium imperatoris* on draped *sella*, for deified emperor (probably Vespasian). For the interpretation of the symbols on the coins see Mattingly, pp. LXXII ff. and Abaecherli, *op. cit.* The evidence for other coins and reliefs representing *sellisternia* is cited in the articles by Abaecherli and Taylor.

⁵ Livy XXII, 1, 19, et eum lectum senatores straverunt.

⁶ Herod. VI, 127; Pindar, *Olymp.* 3, especially 1-34; *Nem.* 10, 49 ff.; Eur. *Helen*, 1666. See F. Deneken, *De Theozenis* (1881). A fifth century *lekythos* from Cameiros (now in the British Museum, B. 633) shows a *theozenia* of the

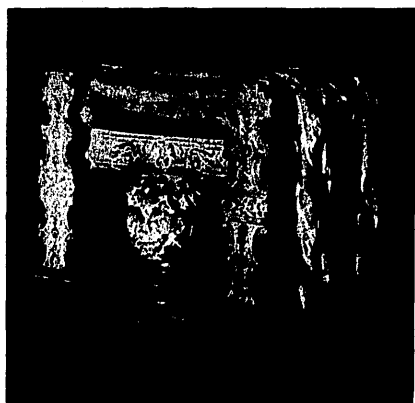


Fig. 1. Marble Seat in Munich.



a



b



c



d

Fig. 2. Flavian Coins.

chairs of gods and goddesses were carried in the procession to the Roman theatre at the scenic games. We have our fullest evidence for them in the records of the emperors who had their chairs taken to the Roman theatre with the chairs of the gods.³ There are in Munich three marble seats (Fig. 1) draped for a *sellisternium*, and on two series of Flavian coins there are representations of the chairs draped and adorned with symbols of gods and emperors (Fig. 2).⁴ The seated gods of the theatre are referred to by Lucretius in a line (IV, 79) which has been needlessly emended by scholars who have not understood it. The red and yellow and blue awnings of the theatre, Lucretius says, dye with color the outlines of the stage and the figures of fathers and mothers and gods:

Scaenai speciem patrum matrumque deorum
Inficiunt.

Ritual at Rome made careful provision for the draping of couches and chairs, charging with the task important people in the state, the senators for the *lectisternium* of Saturn in 217 B.C.,⁵ the hundred and ten representative matrons with the empress at their head for the *sellisternia* of the secular games. The rites, following as they did the provisions of Greek ritual, may in themselves be taken as evidence for similar rites in Greek cities with which Rome had come in contact. For the *lectisternium* there is, moreover, Greek evidence to show that the ceremony was familiar in the fifth century;⁶ for the *sellisternium* the Greek evidence is, as we shall

³ Dio XLIV, 6, 3; cf. LIII, 30, 6; LVIII, 4, 4; LXXI, 31, 2; LXXIII, 17, 4; LXXIV, 4, 1; Tac. Ann. II 83.

⁴ Fig. 1 is from G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Fig. 285. See Furtwängler, *Glyptothek*, nos. 327, 346, 347. On two of the chairs are traces of the symbols which were once placed on them. The seats were found in Rome on the Caelian. Fig. 2 shows *aurei* of Titus and Domitian from Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Pl. 45 and 46. a. Winged thunderbolt of Jupiter on draped *sella*; b. Helmet of Minerva on draped *sella*; c. *Bisellium* with wreath, for the living emperor?; d. *Fastigium imperatoris* on draped *sella*, for deified emperor (probably Vespasian). For the interpretation of the symbols on the coins see Mattingly, pp. LXXII ff. and Abaecherli, *op. cit.* The evidence for other coins and reliefs representing *sellisternia* is cited in the articles by Abaecherli and Taylor.

⁵ Livy XXII, 1, 19, et eum lectum senatores straverunt.

⁶ Herod. VI, 127; Pindar, *Olymp.* 3, especially 1-34; *Nem.* 10, 49 ff.; Eur. *Helen*, 1666. See F. Deneken, *De Theoxeniis* (1881). A fifth century *lekythos* from Cameiros (now in the British Museum, B. 633) shows a *theoxenia* of the

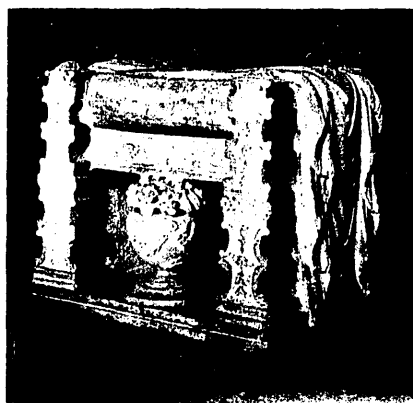


Fig. 1. Marble Seat in Munich.



a



b



c



d

Fig. 2. Flavian Coins.

see, less abundant and later in date. Although there are no Greek words exactly corresponding to *lectisternium* and *sellisternium*, the two ceremonies seem both to be included in the Greek word *θεοξένια*, entertainment of the gods.⁷

The seated gods and goddesses of the east frieze of the Parthenon have long been recognized as spectators at the festival in progress, but Furtwängler was the first to see in the figures on the left in the central relief (Fig. 3) the preparation of the seats of the gods.⁸ Two maidens hold on their heads backless chairs, *diphroi*, on which there are cushions. The first maiden has in her left hand an object which is generally identified as a footstool such as often accompanied the seats of the gods. To the right of the second maiden is a dignified figure of a woman whose right hand is placed beneath the chair on the maiden's head. The woman seems about to take the chair from the maiden. Next to the woman, with his back toward her, stands a bearded man holding a large folded cloth or mantle. Beside him with his hands on the cloth is a boy. This scene adjoins the seated divinities who have their backs turned toward the central scene.

Since Furtwängler's discussion of the frieze appeared, most scholars have accepted his interpretation of the figures on the left.⁹ The two maidens are bringing to the woman, presumably the priestess of Athena Polias, chairs such as were needed for the divinities seated on either side. All of them except Zeus, who is on a *thronos*, are seated on *diphroi*. One of them, Dionysus, clearly has on his *diphros* a cushion such as we see on the two chairs on the heads of the maidens. The two maidens advancing with chairs are typical of a procession of maidens bringing chairs for all the gods.

Dioscuri. Cf. Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 1169-70. For the *lectisternium* in Etruria see Messerschmidt's interpretation of the fifth century Tomba del letto funebre at Tarquinii, *Studi Etruschi* III (1929), 519 ff.

⁷ *Theoxenia* is defined by Hesychius as *κοινή ἐορτή πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς*. See *Schol. vet. Pind. Ol.* 3, introduction: *θεοξενίων ἐορταὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν οὕτως ἐπιτελοῦνται κατὰ τινὰς ὁρισμένας ἡμέρας, ὡς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἐκδημοῦντων ταῖς πόλεσιν*. See Pfister s. v. *Theoxenia*, Pauly-Wissowa. Although banquets of the gods (*lectisternia*) seem to have been the chief feature of the *Theoxenia*, the festivals at Delphi and Pellene may well have provided the gods with seats to witness the contests.

⁸ *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (edited by Eugénie Sellers, 1895), 427 ff.

⁹ An exception is Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932), 30 ff., esp. 31, n. 14.

According to Furtwängler's interpretation, the figures at the right have no connection with this scene. Here he follows the traditional view and holds that the heavy piece of stuff is the *peplos* woven every four years by maidens for Athena and presented to her at the Great Panathenaic festival. The scene, according to Furtwängler, represents an episode which took place after the procession arrived at its destination; it is the delivery of the *peplos*.

But archaeologists have by no means agreed that the scene can be described as the delivery of the *peplos*. As A. H. Smith says in his description of the relief,¹⁰ "The action represented is not one of either giving or receiving. From the peculiar way in which the boy grips an angle of the folded cloth between his elbow and his side, while his hands are otherwise occupied, the act of folding the cloth square seems to be represented. The portion nearest to the spectator is being dropped down till its edges coincide with those of the lower part."

If the scene is the delivery of the *peplos*, a number of questions present themselves.¹¹ Why is the *peplos* being folded? And why is the precious garment, the work of maidens, in the hands of a man and a boy? Why does the priestess of Athena have no part in receiving the *peplos*? Why does Athena herself, who is seated beside the figures handling the robe, turn her back on a scene of such importance in her worship? Why is the elaborate design of the *peplos* not indicated in the relief? Finally, what connection is there between the preparation of the seats and the delivery of the *peplos*?

The view that the folded robe is the *peplos* of Athena is in accord with the widespread belief that the Parthenon frieze represents the Panathenaic procession. The presentation of the *peplos* was, with the sacrifice to Athena, the chief religious feature of the Great Panathenaia and might fittingly be given a prominent position in a representation of the festival. But actually, though it is tempting to identify the procession on the frieze with the greatest of Athena's festivals, there is no definite evidence as to the subject of the Parthenon frieze.¹² The relief may show some other procession,

¹⁰ *Sculptures of the Parthenon* (1910), *Text*, p. 53.

¹¹ See Jane Harrison, *Classical Review* IX (1895), p. 53.

¹² Since the appearance of Michaelis' great work, *Der Parthenon* (1871), there seems to have been general agreement with the view, first suggested by Stuart, that the frieze represents the Panathenaic procession. In the twenty years pre-

for example one which took place at the dedication of the Parthenon.¹³ In any case it is desirable to find an explanation of the central relief which gives more unity to the scene than can be provided by the strange juxtaposition of the preparation of the gods' seats and the delivery of the peplos.

Such an explanation was suggested by Ernst Curtius¹⁴ soon after Furtwängler published his explanation of the chair-bearers. Curtius explained the cloth as a carpet to be spread before the chairs of the gods. For such a use of a carpet he cited an inscription of Magnesia on the Maeander which provides that *xoana* of the twelve gods in festive attire were to be carried in procession to a *tholos* constructed for them near the altar of the twelve gods in the agora and that three *σπρωμναι* were to be prepared for them in it.¹⁵ The *σπρωμναι* were, Curtius held, carpets. This interpretation, though strongly defended by Jane Harrison¹⁶ because of the unity it gave to the scene, was effectively disproved by Furtwängler¹⁷ who showed that the *σπρωμναι* of the Magnesian inscription were *strati lecti* and that the ceremony was a *lectisternium* at which the gods were feasted. Furtwängler further pointed out that, although the Greeks made constant use of coverings for couches and chairs, they did not spread carpets on the floor or on the ground. The robe of the east frieze cannot then be a floor carpet, nor can it, Furtwängler continues, be intended for a couch for "the gods are invited to sit, not to recline."

The obvious suggestion is that the robe was to be used as drapery for one of the chairs of the gods. The use of drapery on thrones and stools is frequently represented on sculpture and vases.¹⁸ There are thrones with hanging drapery on the pediment and the frieze of the Nereid Monument.¹⁹ The thrones of Zeus and Hera on the

ceding the appearance of Michaelis' book there was an active controversy in which Bötticher, Chr. Petersen, and Ronchaud argued for other interpretations of the frieze. See Michaelis, 205 ff.

¹³ See Ronchaud, *Phidias*, 342 ff. Against this suggestion see Chr. Petersen. *Zeitschr. f. d. Altertumswissenschaft*, 1857, p. 215.

¹⁴ *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 181.

¹⁵ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 589 (196 B.C.).

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Class. Rev.* IX (1895), 274 ff.

¹⁸ See Richter, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1, 6, 26, 34, 40, 103, 113, 121, 136.

¹⁹ Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, Pl. 217, 219.

François vase are completely covered on back and sides with hangings.²⁰ Stools as well as thrones are frequently draped. Usually the drapery is less ample than would have been provided by the large robe on the Parthenon frieze,²¹ but Fig. 1 shows how heavy drapery could be used on a seat which had no back. Sometimes there is a folded cloth instead of a cushion on seats. An excellent example is provided by the east pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 4) where there are heavy folded robes on the chests on which the two goddesses usually identified as Demeter and Persephone are seated.²² Thinner coverings which may well be folded cloths are used on the seats of the gods represented in another relief showing gods enthroned for a festival, the east frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi.²³ The same thing seems to be true of several of the seats of divinities in the east frieze of the Parthenon, for instance the two figures usually identified as Apollo and Neptune.²⁴ On the other hand the heavy drapery on Aphrodite's seat (Fig. 5) is arranged more like that on the Flavian coins.²⁵

For the preparation of chairs with drapery there is evidence in Homer. When Athena came to Ithaca, Telemachus seated her on a goodly carven throne and spread a linen cloth on it; beneath was a footstool for her feet.²⁶ In Lacedaemon, Helen's handmaids

²⁰ Richter, fig. 26 (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 11 and 12).

²¹ The great size of the robe, much too large for the ancient olive wood image of Athena, has troubled scholars who have identified it with the *peplos* of Athena.

²² Fig. 4 is a detail from Smith, *op. cit.* Pl. 3. Miss Ann Hoskin called my attention to this example which I had overlooked. Another example of a folded robe is probably to be found in Richter, Fig. 1, one of a series of terracotta plaques from Locri Epizephyrii (now in the Syracuse Museum). Several of them show the dedication of *peploi* to a goddess. See Orsi, *Boll. d'Arte*, III (1909), 406 ff.

²³ Ch. Picard and P. de la Coste Messelière, *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, 2 (1928), p. 107 say of the chair covering of Athena and the goddess to the left of her, "coussin . . . se présentant comme un carré d'étoffe souple." For other divinities witnessing a festival compare the frieze of the so-called Theseum, Brunn-Bruckmann, Pl. 406, 407.

²⁴ A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, Pl. 36.

²⁵ From the restoration in A. H. Smith, *Text*, p. 54, Fig. 102. For this figure, the original of which is preserved today only in fragments, we are dependent on Fauvel's mould.

²⁶ *Od.* I, 130-2. αὐτὴν δ' ἐς θρόνον εἰσεν ἄγων ὑπὸ λῖτα πετάσσας,
καλὸν δαιδάλεον ὑπὸ δε θρήνης ποσὶν ἦεν.
πὰρ δ' αὐτὸς κλισμὸν θέτο ποικίλον.



Fig. 3. Central Relief, East Frieze of Parthenon.



Fig. 4. Detail from East Pediment of Parthenon.



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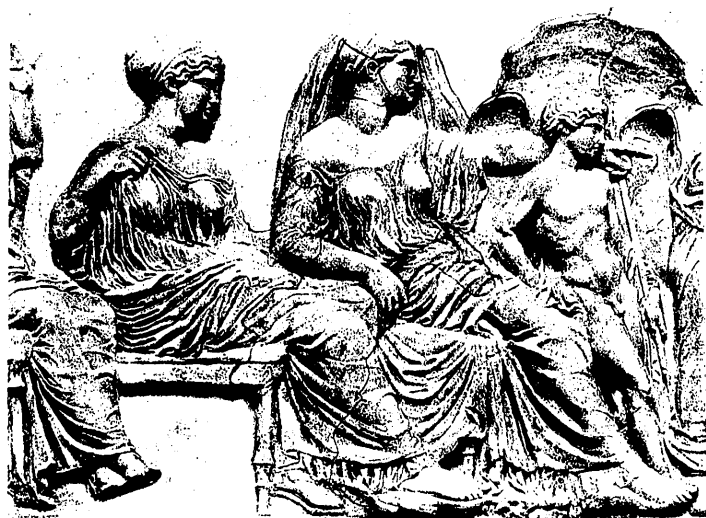
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Fig. 3. Central Relief, East Frieze of Parthenon.



Fig. 4. Detail from East Pediment of Parthenon.



placed for her her well-wrought chair and spread on it a rug of soft wool.²⁷ In the palace of Alcinoos there were thrones for the Phaeacian nobles against the wall, and on them were light coverings, the work of women.²⁸ The word used here for the coverings is πέπλοι which in Homer, as occasionally later, is used for coverlets.

That the *sellisternium*—the ceremonial preparation of seats for the gods—was a feature of Greek ritual is, as we have seen, clear from the fact that the Roman *sellisternium*, at least in the secular games, followed the *Graecus ritus*. There was a throne of Zeus in the Idaean cave which was draped every year for the god.²⁹ The word used is *στορενύναι*, the equivalent of the Latin *sternere*. In an inscription from the Piraeus, belonging to the second century B.C., the draping of two thrones for Magna Mater and Attis is provided for,³⁰ and in an inscription of Chios there is a record of the dedication of some form of drapery, *τὴν στρώτην*, and chairs, *τὰς καθέδρας*, for the Mother goddess.³¹

On a red-figured vase from Kertch (Fig. 6) there is a scene in mythological setting which shows the preparation of a seat for a god. Dionysus is receiving Apollo at Delphi, and a woman is making ready a chair for the god. The chair, a *klismos*, is already adorned with a rich piece of drapery, and the attendant is placing a cushion on it.³²

The so-called *peplos* of the Parthenon frieze, really a *peplos* in the sense in which Homer uses the word,³³ was, I believe, to be used

²⁷ *Od.* IV, 123-4. τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἔμ' Ἀδρήστη κλισίην εὐτυκτον ἔθηκεν,
'Αλκίππη δὲ τάπητα φέρεν μαλακοῦ ἐρίοιο.

²⁸ *Od.* VII, 95-7. ἐν δὲ θρόνοι περι τοίχων ἐρηρέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῖο διαμπερές, ἔνθ' ἐνὶ πέπλοι
λεπτοὶ ἔννηντοι βεβλήατο, ἔργα γυναικῶν.

See also the description of Penelope's chair, *Od.* XIX, 55. At a banquet Alexander seated 6000 officers on silver stools and couches draped with purple robes. Cf. Duris ap. Athen. 48 f.

²⁹ Porphyrius, *Pythag.* 17. τὸν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος θρόνον. The throne may have been similar to the rock cut thrones which have been discovered. For the one at Phalasarna in Crete see De Sanctis, *Mon. Ant.* XI, 366 ff.

³⁰ *I. G.*² II, 1328, l. 10. [σ]τ[ρω]γνύνειν θρόνους δύο ὡς καλλίστους.

³¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* III, p. 324.

³² *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, Pl. CCXI, from which Fig. 6 is taken.

³³ The drapery on chairs might of course serve as a wrap for the occupant. In *Iliad* VI, 88 ff., 269 ff. the Trojan women select from their store the most beautiful *peplos* and place it on the knees of Athena. W. Reichel, *Über vorhel-lenischer Götterkulte* (1897), 51 ff., suggested that there was no actual image of

like the *solitaria* of the Roman *sellisternium* to adorn the seats of the gods. This would explain why it was being folded. It would also give an explanation of the entire relief which is consistent with artistic unity. I would interpret the scene as a *sellisternium*. Between the rows of gods already enthroned we see the preparations which preceded their enthronement, a scene in which the gods naturally take no interest. Two cushioned chairs have already been brought by attendants and a robe is being folded to be placed, perhaps like the folded robes on the east pediment, either on one of these or on another chair to be brought later. As in the Greek rites of the *lectisternium* and the *sellisternium* at Rome, officials of importance are in charge of the ceremony. The woman is probably the priestess of Athena Polias, the man perhaps the *archon basileus*. They are assisted by maidens and a boy, who, like the other boys and girls who took part in ancient religious rites, were probably children of living parents.³⁴ The sculptor has given us a unified representation of a carefully prescribed ceremonial, the Greek ritual which the Romans called the *sellisternium*.

The Parthenon was provided with the furniture required for such a rite. The inventories of the Parthenon proper for the years 434–412 mention, along with a table adorned with ivory and a number of Milesian and Chian couches, 12 thrones, 4 *diphroi*, and 9 folding stools. The later collective inventories also include couches, tables, thrones, *diphroi*, folding stools and footstools, all in varying states of repair.³⁵

Athena, but simply an empty throne. Reichel also believed (cf. p. 20) that the *peplos* of Athena, which he considered too large for the ancient *xoanon*, was intended for an imaginary image. The *peplos* which women wove every four years for Hera of Olympia may have been placed on the knees of the goddess, for the cult statue of the Heraeum was a seated figure (cf. Paus. V, 16–17). The olive-wood *xoanon* of the Athenian Acropolis was also probably a seated figure. See Frickenhaus, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXIII (1908), p. 24. For scenes showing the dedication of *peploi* to a goddess see Orsi, *op. cit.* Fig. 6, 17, 18, 25, 26.

³⁴ On the *diphrophoroi* who followed the *kanephoroi* in processions see Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1550 ff. with the *scholia* on the passage; cf. Suidas, s. v. *διφρον* and Hesychius, s. v. *διφροφόροι*. As Furtwängler points out, *Masterpieces*, p. 428, there is no ancient evidence for the statement found frequently in modern handbooks that the *diphrophoroi* were chosen from the *metoikoi*.

³⁵ I. G.² I, 276–288; II, 1394, 1421. Cf. H. Lehner, *Über die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse* (1890). Draperies are not mentioned in the Parthenon inventories, but they existed in temple stores. Cf. Eurip. *Ion*, 1141 ff.

The couches and tables in these inventories were intended for banquets of the gods of which the priestess of Athena Polias seems to have been in charge.³⁶ The various types of seats were used either for goddesses, who had seats and not couches for banquets, or for both gods and goddesses who were enthroned to witness festivals. The twelve thrones which were in the Parthenon proper at the end of the fifth century must have been intended for the twelve Olympians whom we see on the Parthenon frieze. For great festivals the priestess of Athena Polias and her associates prepared, with the careful ritual which we see on the Parthenon frieze, a concrete representation of the presence of the gods.

The ceremony of the *sellisternium* required more than the draping of the chairs with cushions and cloths. It was necessary to place on the chairs images or symbols of the gods, and, as in the *lectisternium* of the twelve gods at Magnesia, the images were probably decked out in festal attire. In Roman cult, though images of the gods were sometimes employed, symbols of the divinities, fashioned often of grass or foliage, were commonly used.³⁷ In Greek cult the evidence is, as far as I know, rather scanty, but it would seem that sometimes symbols took the place of images. After Alexander's death his secretary, the Greek Eumenes, prepared a golden throne and adorned it with the king's diadem, sceptre, and armor.³⁸ Before it Alexander's generals offered sacrifice and sat in council.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider the evidence for the use of thrones in Greek cult.³⁹ But it is worth while to note that sometimes, as in Rome, images of the gods were carried as spectators into the Greek theatre. At the Great Dionysia the image of Dionysus was carried into the theatre and placed in a

³⁶ I. G.² II, 776. Her attendants were called Kosmo and Trapezo (or Trapezophoros). See Harpocration, s. v. *τραπεζοφόρος*; Hesychius, s. v. *τραπεζῶ*; Bekker, *Anec.* I, 307. Cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 430; Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (1889), p. 122.

³⁷ Cf. Abaecherli, *op. cit.*, 134 ff.

³⁸ Diodorus XVIII, 61, 1. See Herter, *Rhein. Mus.* LXXIV (1925), 164 ff.

³⁹ On the throne cult see Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, 429 ff. where the evidence for thrones in Greek temples is cited. See also his discussion of the Amyclae throne in the German edition (*Meisterwerke*, 687 ff.). Cf. Reichel and Herter, *op. cit.*, and the articles on *Thronos*, by Chapot in Daremberg and Saglio, and by Hug in Pauly-Wissowa. The probable eastern origin of the throne cult, discussed by Reichel, deserves fuller investigation.

prominent position.⁴⁰ At the celebration of his daughter's marriage which Philip of Macedon staged at Delphi, splendidly decked images of the gods on thrones were borne into the theatre. With them, and like them on a throne, was carried an elaborately adorned image of Philip as the thirteenth god.⁴¹ Like the seated divinities of the Parthenon frieze, the Olympians, with the king added to their number, were given seats to witness a spectacle held in their honor.⁴²

There is, as far as I know, no scene of Greek or Roman ritual which provides a parallel for my interpretation of the Parthenon relief. What we see on Roman coins and reliefs is not the actual preparation of the throne, but the throne already draped and adorned with the symbols of the gods. Such representations, comparatively rare in the Roman period, become very common in Christian art. A fifth century sarcophagus from Tusculum has on it a draped and cushioned seat. Upon the cushion rests a large crown within which is the monogram of Christ.⁴³ The crown, like the garland on a throne represented on a gem in the Berlin museum,⁴⁴ recalls the crowns or garlands which adorned the chairs of the emperor in the Roman *sellisternium*.⁴⁵ In churches of Rome and Italy, usually in the mosaics of apse or triumphal arch, there are representations of seats with or without drapery, which have upon them various symbols of Christ—the crown, the cross, the

⁴⁰ I. G.² II, 1006, 12 ff.; 1008, 14 ff.; 1011, 11 ff.; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 536: καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν ἀλλὰ θεῖσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ. See Roger's note on the line. Like Lucretius IV, 79, this line of Aristophanes has been emended by scholars who failed to realize that a statue of the god was carried into the theatre.

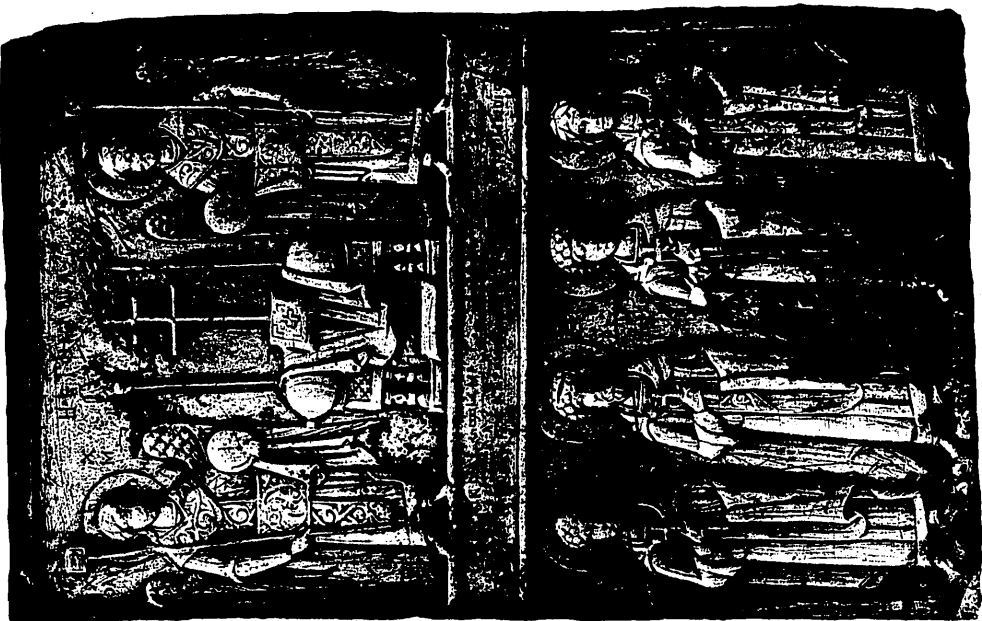
⁴¹ Diodorus XVI, 92, 5. σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπέσι κατασκευαῖς εἰδωλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπόμπευε ταῖς τε δημιουργίαις περιττῶς εἰργασμένα καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τοῦ πλούτου θαυμαστῶς κεκοσμημένα· σὺν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαίδεκατον ἐπόμπευε θεοπρεπεῖς εἰδωλον, σὺνθρονον αὐτὸν ἀποδεκνόντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς.

⁴² On this occasion, as in the scene on the Parthenon frieze, in the Magnesian inscription, and in the Roman *lectisternium* described in Livy XXII, 10, 9 (held by the *decemviri* who were in charge of the *Graecus ritus*) the twelve gods were entertained together. Celebrations like this perhaps gave rise to Hesychius' definition of *Theoxenia* as κοινὴ ἐορτὴ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς.

⁴³ De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1872, Pl. VI (cf. 125 ff.); reproduced in Leclercq's article *Étymologie* in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.

⁴⁴ Reproduced in Kraus, *Realencyklopädie der christlichen Altertümer*, I, p. 432. Kraus dates it about 400 A.D.

⁴⁵ See Fig. 1, c and Abaecherli, *op. cit.*



Richard, Berlin, n. P. 1866.

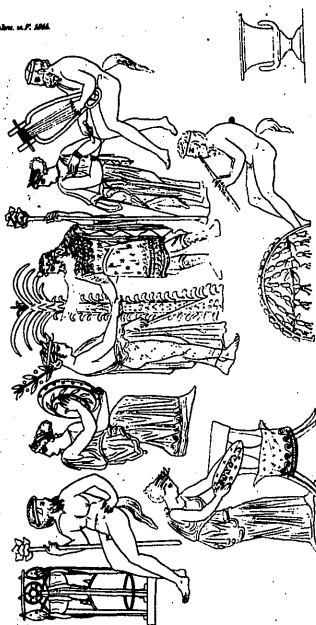


Fig. 6. Red-figured Vase from Kertch.

prominent position.⁴⁰ At the celebration of his daughter's marriage which Philip of Macedon staged at Delphi, splendidly decked images of the gods on thrones were borne into the theatre. With them, and like them on a throne, was carried an elaborately adorned image of Philip as the thirteenth god.⁴¹ Like the seated divinities of the Parthenon frieze, the Olympians, with the king added to their number, were given seats to witness a spectacle held in their honor.⁴²

There is, as far as I know, no scene of Greek or Roman ritual which provides a parallel for my interpretation of the Parthenon relief. What we see on Roman coins and reliefs is not the actual preparation of the throne, but the throne already draped and adorned with the symbols of the gods. Such representations, comparatively rare in the Roman period, become very common in Christian art. A fifth century sarcophagus from Tusculum has on it a draped and cushioned seat. Upon the cushion rests a large crown within which is the monogram of Christ.⁴³ The crown, like the garland on a throne represented on a gem in the Berlin museum,⁴⁴ recalls the crowns or garlands which adorned the chairs of the emperor in the Roman *sellisternium*.⁴⁵ In churches of Rome and Italy, usually in the mosaics of apse or triumphal arch, there are representations of seats with or without drapery, which have upon them various symbols of Christ—the crown, the cross, the

⁴⁰ *I. G.*² II, 1006, 12 ff.; 1008, 14 ff.; 1011, 11 ff.; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 536: καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν ἀλλὰ θεᾶσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ. See Roger's note on the line. Like Lucretius IV, 79, this line of Aristophanes has been emended by scholars who failed to realize that a statue of the god was carried into the theatre.

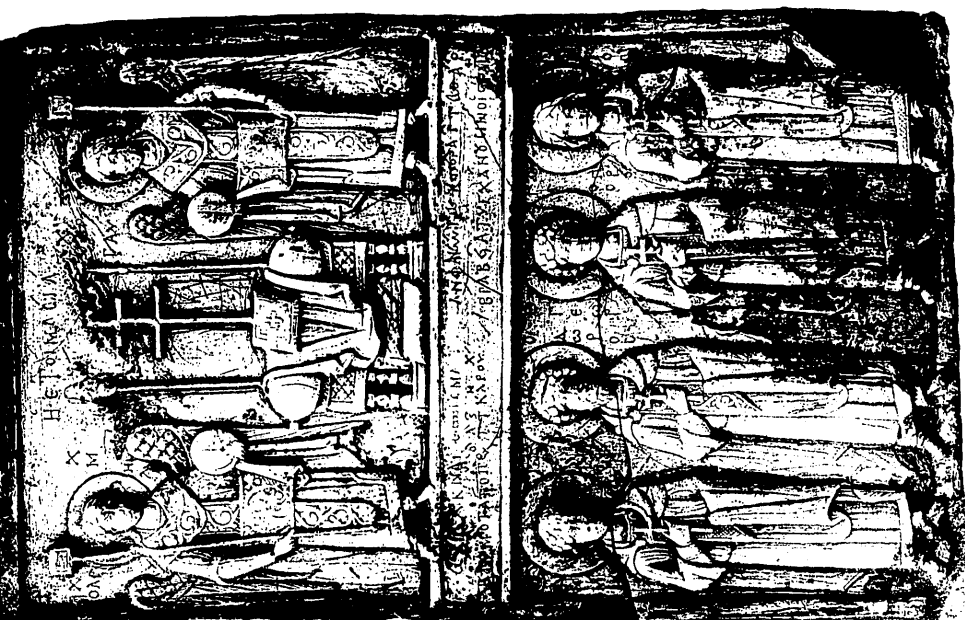
⁴¹ Diodorus XVI, 92, 5. σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπέσι κατασκευαῖς εἰδῶλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπόμπευε ταῖς τε δημιουργίαις περιττῶς εἰργασμένα καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τοῦ πλοῦτου θαυμαστῶς κεκοσμημένα· σὺν δὲ τούτοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαίδεκατον ἐπόμπευε θεοπρεπὲς εἰδῶλον, σὺνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς.

⁴² On this occasion, as in the scene on the Parthenon frieze, in the Magnesian inscription, and in the Roman *lectisternium* described in Livy XXII, 10, 9 (held by the *decemviri* who were in charge of the *Graecus ritus*) the twelve gods were entertained together. Celebrations like this perhaps gave rise to Hesychius' definition of *Theoxenia* as κοινὴ ἐορτὴ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς.

⁴³ De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1872, Pl. VI (cf. 125 ff.); reproduced in Leclercq's article *Élismasie* in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.

⁴⁴ Reproduced in Kraus, *Realencyklopädie der christlichen Altertümer*, I, p. 432. Kraus dates it about 400 A.D.

⁴⁵ See Fig. 1, c and Abaecherli, *op. cit.*



General, Section of 1901



Fig. 4. Red-headed vase from Ketch.

lamb, the roll, or later the book (the gospels).⁴⁶ Sometimes, as in the mosaics of Sixtus III on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore, the roll with seven seals shows that the scene was inspired by the throne of the Apocalypse.⁴⁷ In Byzantine art there developed in the second millenium after Christ⁴⁸ a stereotyped form of seat, cushioned and draped according to older traditions and adorned with the emblems of the passion—cross and lance and sponge (Fig. 7).⁴⁹ This throne, which became a regular feature of the Greek Orthodox Church, symbolizes the coming of Christ at the Last Judgment. The inscription accompanying it, *ἐρομασία τοῦ θρόνου*, or simply *ἐρομασία*, is inspired by the throne of judgment of the Psalms.⁵⁰ It is customary to give the name *etimasia* to the thrones of earlier monuments in East and West,⁵¹ though the symbols on them often denote not the Second Coming but the actual presence of Christ. When at the Council of Ephesus and at the Second Council of Nicaea a throne with the gospels upon it was placed in the gathering,⁵² the bishops were showing by a concrete

⁴⁶ For the symbols in the Roman church see Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten* (1917), *Text*, I, 57–61. For the throne with cross in the early Basilica of St. Peter see p. 365. Other thrones of the 5th and early 6th centuries illustrated by Wilpert are that of the Matrona chapel in Santo Prisco near Capua (*Tafeln*, I, 77) draped and cushioned and adorned with the seven-sealed roll and the dove; that of Santa Maria Maggiore (see note 47); those of the Baptistery of the Orthodox in Ravenna (*Tafeln*, I, 81–2)—a series of four draped and cushioned thrones adorned with cross and mantle, between which are represented *kathedrae* holding crowns, and altars on which the gospels are placed; that of the Baptistery of the Arians in Ravenna (*Tafeln*, I, 101) decorated with cross and mantle.

⁴⁷ Wilpert, *Tafeln*, I, 70–72. Cf. *Revelation*, ch. 4 and 5. Wilpert (p. 58) compares the draped throne (*θρόνον ἐστρωμένον*) of the vision of St. Maura and the seat with linen cushion and drapery in the vision of Hermas (*Shepherd of Hermas*, vis. III, 1, 4).

⁴⁸ For the date see Wilpert, *Text*, I, 60.

⁴⁹ Fig. 7 is an illustration of a steatite plaque in a private French collection. From the publication of Schlumberger, *Monuments Piot*, IX (1902), Pl. XX.

⁵⁰ Cf. Psalms 9, 8: *καὶ ὁ κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει· ἡτοίμασεν ἐν κλίσει τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ*.

⁵¹ Wilpert, *l. c.* and O. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa*, (1903), 202 ff., have protested against this custom and have discussed in some detail the symbolism of the earlier thrones. See Wilpert's index, s. v. *Thron*, for full references.

⁵² For the Council of Ephesus see Mansi, *Concil.* V, p. 241. *σύνεδρον δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ κεφαλὴν ἐποίεῖτο Χριστόν, ἔκειτο γὰρ ἐν ἀγίῳ θρόνῳ τὸ σεπτὸν Εὐαγγέλιον μονουχὶ καὶ ἐπιβοῶν τοῖς ἀγίοις ἱεουργοῖς· κρίμα δίκαιον κρίνατε κτλ.* For the Second Council of Nicaea and for other councils at which the same custom seems to have been followed see Wulff, *op. cit.*, 230–1.

representation that Christ was present at the head of the Council. The thrones on Christian monuments are an interesting adaptation of pagan iconography to ecclesiastical tradition. These chairs with their cushions and drapery and their symbols go back to the ancient *sellisternium*, whose ritual, I believe, we see represented in the east frieze of the Parthenon.

CRISIS IN EZEKIEL RESEARCH

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"Die Forschung über das Buch Ezechiel steht heute in einer starken Krisis." It is now some ten years back that Prof. Kittel¹ penned these words as a reaction to the views of Joh. Herrmann² and Gustav Hölscher.³ The "crisis" he mentions and seeks to meet is more acute today than ever. Recent publications by C. C. Torrey⁴ and James Smith,⁵ and to a lesser extent such surveys of the field as those of Volkmar Hertrich⁶ and Curt Kuhl,⁷ have brought to a definite focus the whole question of our attitude toward the book. For, despite great diversity of opinion on the part of these modern specialists, on one thesis they unite: No longer can we hold to the old and familiar critical dogmas regarding Ezekiel. Seriously questioned or downright denied is the former view that the prophet-priest of Tel-Abib was the "father of Jewish legalism," the "inaugurator of the apocalyptic school of thought," and "the most influential man that we find in the whole course of Hebrew history."⁸ Clearly, we must in any event resign the pleasing comfort that Ezekiel is the one prophetic book whose perplexities have been finally and happily resolved.

In view of this urgent crisis in interpretation, no Old Testament scholar has valid excuse for resting securely "settled on his lees" (Jer. 48: 11; Zeph. 1: 12) with respect to Ezekiel research. The task of coming to grips, definitely and purposefully, with old and new problems connected with the book is both immediate and

¹ R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III, 1927, p. 144.

² *Ezechielstudien*, 1908 and *Ezechiel*, 1924, (Vol. XI of Sellin's *Kommentar zum A. T.*).

³ *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch*, 1924 (Beiheft zur ZATW, 39).

⁴ *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy*, 1930.

⁵ *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, 1931.

⁶ *Ezechielprobleme*, 1932 (Beiheft zur ZATW, 61).

⁷ "Zur Geschichte der Hesekiel-Forschung," *Theologische Rundschau*, 1933, pp. 92-118; notable for its extensive bibliography.

⁸ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, 1903, pp. 326 f.

urgent. Whether we follow such an one as Hölscher in attributing by far the greater part of the work to late redactors, or prefer Torrey's or perhaps James Smith's course of placing the prophecy practically intact in a new setting, we must discover a reasoned *modus vivendi* as to the book. In seeking to "distinguish degrees of probability"⁹ with respect to the numerous problems concerned each will, of course, accord just and due weight to accepted tradition. On the other hand, we must mercilessly cross-examine any opinion, however venerable or widely received, which fails to account satisfactorily for the questions which arise. Only so is there ever possibility of advance.¹⁰ The difficulty of the present task is clearly indicated by the radical divergence of views held by the most careful and competent experts.

Preliminary to our necessarily abbreviated examination of Ezekiel's place in Hebrew history, let us tabulate in order some of the problems involved. Their importance lies in the fact that only as we find the correct solution of them can we hope to achieve a tenable view of the book: (a) The relationship of the double dating in 1: 1-3 to the series of dates running throughout; (b) The prophet seems to be addressing in person a Jerusalemite audience rather than, as stated in the headings, a Babylonian; (c) Several important sections are repeated; (d) Literary relationships with other books are extraordinarily numerous; (e) How account for the incredibly accurate, even infallible clairvoyance of Ezekiel?; (f) References to Persia occur at a period when that nation has not yet emerged in the history of the Hebrew people; (g) The diction is characterized by as pervasive an Aramaic flavor as that of several of the latest Hebrew books; (h) How interpret the difficult and elusive Jewish tradition?; (i) In form and thought the book shows highly developed apocalyptic tendencies; (j) What, probably, is the historical background mirrored?; and (k) What is the fundamental purpose of the writer? Quite a catalogue of question marks to center about a book long distinguished for its "Problemlosigkeit!"¹¹ Fortunately each problem serves also as guide to the solution of the Ezekiel enigma.

The primary object of this paper is to establish definite base lines for our guidance in discovering a reasonable explanation of the

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

¹⁰ See Torrey's reply to Prof. Shalom Spiegel entitled, "Certainly Pseudo-Ezekiel," in *JBL*, LIII (1934), pp. 292 f.

¹¹ Curt Kuhl, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

book; and at the risk of seeming arbitrary, we shall state these base lines in the form of positive propositions. The first has to do with the question of unity. The importance and difficulty of this problem must justify a comparatively lengthy discussion.

1. THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL IS ESSENTIALLY A UNIT

Too little weight has been given by recent research to the important fact that, up to at least the turn of the century, the practically unanimous verdict of the most competent scholars was that the book is clearly the product of a single mind. It has repeatedly been shown that an extraordinary and almost monotonous uniformity of style pervades the writing from the first chapter to the last. Connected with this is the circumstance that a considerable number of characteristic words and phrases are constantly repeated. For example, "son of man," as a title addressed to the prophet, is used 92 times (elsewhere in the Old Testament, this special usage occurs only Dan. 8:17); "ye shall know that I am Jehovah," 74 times; "I have spoken it," 49 times; "abominations," 43 times; "*gillūlm*," 39 times (both these last two are used of idols); and "prince" (*nāsī*), 37 times.¹² Furthermore, the general organization of the book is so logical and consistent as to argue powerfully for its composition by only one person. Notice how clear is its outline. Chs. 1-24 constitute a closeknit unit, in which the call of chs. 1-3 is inevitably followed by the prophecies against Jerusalem in 4-24. The second half of the book (chs. 25-48) easily divides into the oracles against foreign nations (25-32), the apocalyptic picture of future conflict and prosperity (33-39) and, finally, the crowning plan for a restored land and Temple (40-48). To cap all this weighty evidence, scholars have called attention to such items as the author's very characteristic habit of repetition of his important prophecies, his frequent dependence upon earlier writers, an extreme vividness both of imagery and action verging upon the bizarre, and the constant presence, easily sensed, of an unusual and dominating personality.

This mass of evidence has long been recognized as compelling. "No critical question arises in connection with the authorship of the book," maintains Driver, "the whole from beginning to end bearing

¹² See Driver, *LOT*, 1912, pp. 297 f.; cp. J. B. Harford's convenient list of words and phrases in his *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel*, 1935, pp. 2-5.

unmistakably the stamp of a single mind."¹³ Even more definite is Skinner's verdict. "Not only does it bear the stamp of a single mind in its phraseology, its imagery, and its mode of thought," he writes, "but it is arranged on a plan so perspicuous and so comprehensive that the evidence of literary design in the composition becomes altogether irresistible."¹⁴ Gray testifies thus: "No other book of the Old Testament is distinguished by such decisive marks of authorship and integrity."¹⁵ Smend's emphatic dictum is familiar: "Höchst wahrscheinlich ist das ganze Buch . . . in einem Zuge niedergeschrieben."¹⁶ Even those scholars who disagreed with the setting offered by the book itself have been quite insistent upon its unity. The eminent and independent scholar Zunz,¹⁷ whose dating of 440–400 B.C. was accepted by A. Geiger,¹⁸ as also Seinecke with his identification of Gog with Antiochus Epiphanes (164–3 B.C.),¹⁹ all agree here. More recently James Smith, who regards Ezekiel as a prophet of the Northern Kingdom, 722–669 B.C., has stressed the "marked similarity of language and ideas that can be accounted for only by the presence throughout of the same personality."²⁰ One may not lightly dismiss such almost unanimous witness to unity, based as it is on the most cogent evidence, borne by competent scholars representing diverse points of view.²¹

Doubtless this view would still prevail, were it not that certain recent students of Ezekiel have supposed it necessary, in view of some of the problems listed above,²² to dissect the book. Now, it is one thing to posit diversity of authorship in a document where,

¹³ *LOT*, p. 279.

¹⁴ Hasting's *DB*, I, 1898, p. 817.

¹⁵ *Critical Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1924, p. 198.

¹⁶ *Ezechiel*, 1880, p. XXII; on p. XXI he says: "One could not take out a single section without destroying the whole ensemble."

¹⁷ *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, pp. 157–162; *ZDMG*, XXVII, 1873, pp. 676–681, 688.

¹⁸ *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, 1857, p. 23; *Nachgelassene Schriften*, 1875, II, p. 83.

¹⁹ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II, 1884, pp. 1–20.

²⁰ *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, 1931, pp. 98 f.

²¹ See, in addition, the brief summary of arguments for unity presented by C. Kuhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.—W. F. Lofthouse (*Israel After the Exile*, Clarendon Bible, IV, 1928, p. 66) shows that a "psychological sequence," additional evidence of unity, marks the order of passages within the various sections of the book.

²² Pp. 269 ff.

as e.g. in the Pentateuch, a great array of differences make it quite clear that only so can we understand the origins of the book. In such a case the criteria of diverse style, vocabulary, thought, etc. are actually there and fairly obvious to a careful observer. It is quite a different matter to magnify the natural unevennesses of one writer into evidence for multiple authorship, as a ready way to meet the embarrassment occasioned by the presence of problems whose solution is not at once manifest. In the latter case, there is subtle danger, under the influence of theory, of seeing differences which do not in reality exist. It is from this readiness to resort freely to the knife that the study of the prophets has suffered in late years.²³

Naturally Ezekiel has in turn, despite ample internal and external evidence to its unity, been broken up after the customary fashion. As far back as 1900, Kraetzschmar²⁴ made a mild beginning. He held that the present book is made up of two separate recensions of Ezekiel's prophecies, one in the third and another in the first person, later woven together by a redactor. The principal arguments he adduced were (a) the sudden breaks in the narrative, (b) defective order within many chapters, and especially (c) the frequency of parallel texts and doublets. But we must recall that sudden breaks and defective order are not at all surprising in an ancient Semitic prophecy. Kraetzschmar, moreover, seems to overlook the fact that, however strong and deep Ezekiel's religious nature and despite a number of excellent poems scattered here and there, this prophet can never rank as a first-rate literary artist.²⁵ Hence the cruder and more uneven elements in the composition. With regard to the parallel passages he lists, why regard it as strange that this combination of prophet and priest should repeat himself, even to the extent of using again characteristic and effective passages from earlier occasions? Similar repetitions are to be found in original sections of Jeremiah. For example, his "Temple Address" in 26: 1-6 is evidently a briefer reiteration of previous admonitions recorded in ch. 7.²⁶ Compare with this our prophet's

²³ See Torrey's thought-provoking chapter, "The Eclipse of a Great Prophet," in his *Second Isaiah*, 1928, pp. 3-19.

²⁴ *Ezekiel*, pp. XI-XIV.

²⁵ Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*,³ 1932, p. 270; "In Ezechiel tritt uns ein Schriftsteller mittlerer Begabung entgegen."

²⁶ See Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 48 f.

repetition in ch. 23 of many statements from the very similar oracle in ch. 16. Seinecke²⁷ conveniently reproduces these in parallel columns as an illustration of Ezekiel's "Schreibart." Everybody knows that an ancient oriental writer does not share a modern occidental author's horror of repetition.²⁸ Why, then, in view of all the evidence for unity, adopt the wholly unnecessary theory of two recensions for Ezekiel? Notice an additional grave weakness of Kraetzschmar's solution in that his "third person recension" seems to depend almost entirely on the insecure foundation of only two passages, 1: 3 and 24: 24.²⁹

Herrmann's³⁰ solution of the problem of Ezekiel, be it observed in passing, makes the prophet himself the principal, though by no means the sole, redactor of his various oracles and collections. Thus does this commentator attempt to do justice to the manifest unity of the book, while accounting for its difficulties. But he assigns far more to later redactors than seems justified by the evidence. Nor does his theory really meet the problems of language, clairvoyance, etc.

When we come to Hölscher,³¹ we observe the most complete and radical breakup of Ezekiel, the ultimate and inescapable "dead end" toward which the dissection method tends. Out of some 1272 verses he rescues a bare 150 or so from the grasp of later supplementers and editors.³² The chief redactor he places in the fifth century. By means of this major redaction the book has been made essentially a pseudepigraph, the "Kampfschrift" of the Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem.³³ Despite many true and keen observations, Hölscher's work is discredited by undue dependence upon logical and esthetic criteria which are purely subjective. Particularly open to objection is the arbitrary limitation of Ezekiel's

²⁷ Pp. 18 f.

²⁸ Notice the suggestion of M. Burrows (*The Literary Relations of Ezekiel*, 1925, pp. 104 f.) that the "style of Ezekiel is that of extempore oratory."

²⁹ See the comment of Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, 1934, p. 321.

³⁰ See note 2 above.

³¹ *Op. cit.*

³² J. B. Harford, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-20. In this procedure Hölscher avowedly (p. 5) imitates Duhm's well known treatment of Jeremiah.

³³ Pp. 31-34, 40. Notice that his dating of the redaction corresponds pretty accurately (p. 33) with that of Zunz for the whole (pseudepigraphic) book (440-400 B.C.).

genuine message to the form of poetry, especially as some of the "poems" Hölscher discovers are very strange creatures indeed. It is evident that the end results of his researches are too bizarre to serve as a recommendation of this method of violent dissection.³⁴ Other disciples of this method, but far more restrained in execution, are Hertrich³⁵ and Harford,³⁶ both of whom divide the book between a genuine Ezekiel preaching in Jerusalem, and an alleged later follower in the Babylonian exile.

Two conclusions seem to be suggested by the foregoing discussion: first, that the evidence for the essential integrity of Ezekiel is so overwhelming and well established as thoroughly to discredit its partition by critics; and second, that certain difficulties connected with the reputed Babylonian background and dating make it appear, nevertheless, that *the book is not precisely the same as when it left its author's hands*. As a matter of fact, there is secondary material in Ezekiel, though not nearly to the extent most recent authorities imagine. Possibly part of ch. 10 (especially vv. 9-17) was copied from ch. 1, which Jerome informs us was forbidden (together with the end of the book) to Jewish youths under thirty.³⁷ But not much else is secondary—except that scholars increasingly agree that the Babylonian setting and the dating according to Jehoiachin's captivity are not original.³⁸ Somebody, it appears,

³⁴ See the critiques of Kuhl, *T. R.*, 1933, pp. 104-106 and Hertrich, pp. 7 ff. As another illustration of extreme tendencies in dividing Ezekiel, see W. A. Irwin's review of Harford in *Jour. of Religion*, 1936, p. 209: "In chapter after chapter it can easily be demonstrated that we deal with not two but three or even four [writers] whose views are pyramided in a series of comments upon comments."

³⁵ *Op. cit.*

³⁶ Pp. 60, 71-72. Notice on p. 56, in the discussion of the refined theory of the intrusion of a "foreign body" into chs. 8-11, the entire lack of agreement among critics as to what this body is! One cannot base critical conclusions of abiding value on such subjective intuitions. Notice, further, the amazing difference in the analyses offered by those who dissect the book. If the method were right, one would expect some sort of agreement.

³⁷ The purpose of such a copying of this passage was, of course, to evade the Jewish prohibition. See Torrey, *JBL*, LIII, pp. 296 f.

³⁸ Berry (*JBL*, XLIX, 1930, pp. 86 f.) gives reasons for denying Ezekiel's presence in the Exile. Kuhl (pp. 110-115) discusses the growing scepticism as to the originality of the datings in their present form; cp. his statement in *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1932, col. 29, that after twenty years of study of the problem he is convinced "dass Hes. kaum Exilsprophet gewesen sein kann . . . , und dass als Zeit seiner Wirksamkeit die Regierung Manasses manches für sich hat." See also James Smith, pp. 15 ff.

took the daring step of transferring this prophecy, obviously addressed to a Jerusalem audience, into the setting of the Babylonian exile. In a penetrating study of the datings Torrey,³⁹ taking as point of departure the double dating in 1: 1-3, offers the conjecture that the datings, together with a few other slight retouchings, are the contribution of a redactor belonging to the Chronicler's school, who was concerned to show that the Jewish captives carried on their community life intact in Babylonia. He further shows that originally the dates followed a perfect sequence, corresponding to the acknowledged original dating in the 30th year (of King Manasseh?) in 1: 1.⁴⁰ It has been this mischievous alteration of the setting by the ingenious redactor which has ever since confounded attempts to discover the true origin and purpose of the book. Scholars have been quite right in affirming that the datings, at least in their present form, are not genuine. Incidentally, the fact that there was undoubtedly a regular planned sequence of dates, beginning with the 30th year and extending throughout the book, is another argument for unity of composition.

To summarize: A compelling array of evidence, including that of uniform literary style, characteristic words and phrases, logical organization, characteristic habit of repetition, borrowing from other writers, vividness of imagery and action, and the sense of a definite personality permeating all the book, argues for the unity of Ezekiel. This unity is emphasized by the overwhelming majority of competent Old Testament scholars of all shades of opinion. The evidence of diverse authorship, or of composition partly in Palestine and partly in Babylonia, is quite unconvincing. It is possible, moreover, to hold to the essential integrity of Ezekiel while admitting that it has been retouched to the extent of transforming its original background into that of the Babylonian exile. It will be evident, as we proceed, that this last view best accords

³⁹ *Pseudo-Ezek.*, pp. 58 ff.; cp. pp. 108-112.

⁴⁰ Kuhl (p. 112) intimates that Torrey, since he regards the whole book as "Fiktion," is greatly concerned to keep the dates (30th to 32nd year) as close together as possible, thus approximating Smend's "in einem Zuge geschrieben." But if it is fiction there is no need to limit the span of the dates. There is no reason why the period should not cover 20 years, or more.—Notice that the redactor did not omit the dates, since such freedom would have seemed unjustifiable to him. Instead, he keeps as close to the original as possible, simply superimposing his new dates upon the old without changing the months and days.

with all the pertinent facts, and offers a satisfactory solution of the various problems involved. On this basis there is no need whatever to regard the book as other than the solidly constructed work which the evidence proclaims it. But let us now turn to much briefer consideration of the other propositions to be examined.

II. THE LANGUAGE HAS ITS OLD TESTAMENT ANALOGIES ONLY IN THE LATEST WRITINGS

Language is a perfectly definite and objective criterion which, judiciously employed, ought to provide reliable evidence as to date. In English literature, for example, it would be ridiculous to try to date a typical specimen of modern poetry or prose in Elizabethan times. While the information available regarding the growth of the Hebrew language is obviously less definite than in the case of the English, we do know from the extant literature that the later literary products tended to incorporate an increasing proportion of Aramaisms. Now the clear and inescapable fact with regard to Ezekiel is that its vocabulary and style are exactly those of books we know to be late. The Aramaic element is distinctly more marked than that of the Chronicler (300-250 B.C.), and most closely resembles what we find in the very late books, Esther, Ecclesiastes and the Hebrew of Daniel. No dispute exists among scholars as to the fact that Ezekiel abounds in Aramaisms. Kraetzschmar⁴¹ conservatively states: "Die Sprache ist nicht mehr die des goldenen Zeitalters des Hebr., sondern schon bedeutend beeinflusst durch das Aramäische." Driver⁴² intimates that even P's language shows fewer signs of lateness than that of Ezekiel. Smend⁴³ gives a considerable list of grammatical and syntactical phenomena "die wesentlich der späteren Zeit angehören" without, however, drawing from them any definite conclusion. Zunz⁴⁴ makes a careful examination of the late and Aramaic elements in the book, with the result that he finds in them a strong additional reason for holding to a date in the Persian period. Similarly, Seinecke⁴⁵ gives a briefer list in support of his assignment to the time of

⁴¹ P. XIII.

⁴² *LOT*, pp. 155-157.

⁴³ Pp. XXVIII f.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ Pp. 19 f.

Antiochus Epiphanes. Even Spiegel, who vigorously and insistently contends for the traditional setting, freely grants the "strong Aramaic element in Ezekiel."⁴⁶ Perhaps the most useful brief treatise on the subject is the dissertation of F. Selle, *De Aramaismis libri Ezechielis*.⁴⁷ Although the author draws practically no inferences as to the bearing of the facts he presents, his data deserve far more attention than is customarily accorded them by scholars. Here are a few of the multitude of Aramaisms he presents: The replacing of sibilants by dentals (apparently a late development); the use of Aramaic forms of the personal pronoun; characteristically Aramaic noun formations; feminine singular with *aleph*; masculine plural in *-în*; *af'el*, *pa'el* and *haf'el* forms of the verb; *lamedh* as sign of the direct object; use of the proleptic pronoun; and in general a long list of words and locutions deriving from the Aramaic. If Selle's list is subjected to detailed analysis, it soon becomes overwhelmingly evident that the kind and extent of these Aramaisms have no real parallel except in the very latest books. Ezekiel's diction and vocabulary represent an advanced stage in the transition from Hebrew to Aramaic.

Most scholars, however, including even those who have come to see that the datings from the Babylonian exile are not original, have felt strangely reluctant to adopt the obvious conclusion that the book belongs approximately to the period of Ecclesiastes, Esther and Daniel. In various ways they have done little better than evade the manifest implications of the troublesome linguistic phenomena. Cornill's commentary, for instance, so thoroughly "emends" with the help of the Greek that much of the evidence is made to disappear. Toy explains the facts by saying, "The Aramaisms are probably due to later scribes."⁴⁸ For this position there is, of course, not a scintilla of evidence. To deal so cavalierly with any book is to vitiate every attempt to weigh the internal testimony of diction. For J. Smith, "the Aramaisms suggest a

⁴⁶ "Ezekiel or Pseudo-Ezekiel?" *Harvard Theological Review*, XXIV, 1931, p. 302. His reference to K. Zimmer's *Aramaismi Jeremiani* as proof that Ezekiel's Aramaicized diction is normal in the late seventh and early sixth century B.C. is not well taken, in view of the fact that much—how much, nobody knows—of Jeremiah is admittedly very late.

⁴⁷ Published at Halle in 1890.—See also the considerable list of Aramaisms indicated by Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament*, 1902, pp. 100, 111.

⁴⁸ *Enc. Bib.*, II, 1901, col. 1460.

northern origin."⁴⁹ But again there is no valid evidence for the theory of a distinct northern literary dialect of this type, while we do have abundant testimony to the use of just this style of writing in documents composed in Judah in the last pre-Christian centuries. A favorite theory is that the Aramaisms are due to the prophet's being influenced by the speech he heard all about him in Babylonia.⁵⁰ But as Cornill⁵¹ long ago pointed out, it is psychologically incredible that a priest so thoroughly steeped in the literature of his nation, and living in Babylonia as a member of a colony of his fellow-countrymen, should have largely unlearned his mother tongue and so radically departed from the classical idiom he knew in Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, we admit that Ezekiel is to be placed in Palestine, such a style as his is really unthinkable for an educated man living toward the end of the period of the southern kingdom. No! the evidence of abundant Aramaisms, as well as that of reputed Babylonian loan-words, indicates that Persian custom had long been influencing the Hebrew of Palestine when this book was written.

Apparently the only adequate explanation of the close resemblance of Ezekiel in literary style and language to the latest products of the Hebrew genius is the perfectly obvious one that the book itself is much later than the interpolated dates would have us believe. For this conclusion concrete and definite evidence is available for all who will compare the style of Ezekiel with that of other late books; while for the alternative explanations only conjecture is at command. It can hardly be thought unreasonable to posit a late dating for the book, since, as will presently appear, a cumulative weight of arguments all points in the same direction. To oppose these arguments there is only the interpolator's dating, which has already been recognized by many scholars as secondary.⁵²

⁴⁹ Pp. 70 f. Observe that Smith quotes Driver, *LOT*, p. 449, in support of his theory that the northern dialect differed considerably from that of the southern kingdom. On p. 450, however, Driver (in fine print), in retracting his argument favoring an early date for the Song of Songs, accepts this same linguistic evidence as favoring a *late date*. Cp. also Driver's use (p. 322) of Aramaisms to prove the lateness of Jonah. His effort to maintain a preexilic date for Ruth (p. 455), by glozing over the evidence afforded by the language, looks like special pleading.

⁵⁰ See Harford, p. 50; Spiegel, p. 302.

⁵¹ Pp. VI f.

⁵² See, in addition, Torrey's discussion of the language in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 84-90; *JBL*, LIII, p. 317.

III. EZEKIEL'S THEOLOGY MOST NEARLY RESEMBLES THAT OF P AND THE LATER APOCALYPTISTS

No detailed demonstration is needed of the fact that the author of Ezekiel moves in the thought-currents of the priestly caste. Both in the elaborate ecclesiastical program of chs. 40-48, and in repeated passages in the preceding chapters, the affinities with the P document, and particularly the Holiness Code, are frequent and striking. In part, at least, the writer seems to presuppose and utilize P; not improbably he was acquainted with the entire P document we know today.⁵³ For the most part, it is generally agreed, P belongs to the fifth century. On whichever side we ultimately decide the borrowing lies, it is clear that the whole background of both is much the same—and probably late. At any rate, the advanced legalism of Ezekiel, which has won him the popular title, "Father of Legalism," witnesses to a later milieu than the sixth century.

With respect to the book's apocalypticism, the point to be observed is that we are witnessing, not the beginnings of that movement, but an advanced and developed phase of it. Notice the cryptic dating (1: 1) in the "thirtieth year" without mention of the name of the king; the extravagantly elaborated opening vision; the miraculous instantaneous transportation from place to place; the baroque symbolic riddles of chs. 4, 5, etc.; the offensively frank personifications in chs. 16 and 23; the typical recasting of a vivid earlier prophecy (Is. 14) in 31: 15 ff.; the resurrection of ch. 37, which may well reflect the writer's acceptance of individual resurrection, a concept which is the property only of the latest Jewish writings;⁵⁴ the technically perfected eschatology of the Gog chapters (38 f.); and, finally, the strange concept, paralleled only in such late passages as Zech. 14: 8 and Joel 4: 18b, of a stream issuing from under the threshold of the Temple. These and many similar features remind the reader, as Eissfeldt⁵⁵ rightly observes, of the later apocalypses (cp. Enoch). It is an axiom of modern study that the Old Testament apocalypse, of which Ezekiel is acknowledged to be representative, is a type of literature rooting in the Messianic hope, which received its full development only in the latest cen-

⁵³ See Driver, pp. 145-149, and especially Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezek.*, p. 91.

⁵⁴ Cp. O. S. Rankin, *Israel's Wisdom Literature*, 1936, pp. 212-214.

⁵⁵ *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1934, p. 426.

turies. Daniel, of which Ezekiel is commonly regarded as the precursor, stands nearest in thought, atmosphere and form to this book. But four hundred years is a long jump! How account, then, for the almost identical theology of the two books? Was there no development in Hebrew literature? On the common assumption, Ezekiel received his theological training in Jerusalem before 597 B.C. Is it not really ridiculous to suppose that, soon after reaching the Jewish colony at Tel-Abib, he had not only changed his language to late Hebrew, but also adopted an advanced type of theology likewise closely related to the latest in the Old Testament? We must conclude that the study of the book's legalism, and even more of its highly developed apocalyptic tone, testifies strongly to its late origin.⁵⁶

IV. LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS POINT TO A LATE DATE

That Ezekiel is fully conscious of dependence upon earlier writings is indicated especially by two passages. He represents himself in 2: 8-3: 3 as eating at God's command a roll of a book "written within and without," "as honey for sweetness." In 38: 17, again, Gog is referred to as the one spoken of in "old time" by the prophets. Evidently there has been a considerable Hebrew literature developed before Ezekiel writes. Throughout the prophecy, indeed, one feels that the author knows intimately the religious classics of his people, which he quotes copiously but inexactly from memory. He even seems to conceive of his office as primarily interpreter and commentator upon his predecessors.⁵⁷

Incomparably the most thorough and judicious study of the relationship of this book to these other Old Testament writings is the work by Millar Burrows entitled, *The Literary Relations of Ezekiel*, 1925. Here all contacts with the other books are subjected to careful and meticulous scrutiny. As a result of this investigation, Professor Burrows is convinced that Ezekiel was written "later than 1 and 2 Kings and Is 14, after the completion of the Pentateuch, probably later than Hg, Zc, Ob, and Is 13, 23, 34 f., 40-55, and 56-66, perhaps later than Joel, the Aramaic part of Dn, and Zc 9: 11-11: 3, but probably before the late additions to Jo, and

⁵⁶ See Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 93-97.

⁵⁷ Cp. Burrows, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 f.; and Seinecke, p. 4, who suggests that Ezekiel, like Luther regarding Paul, might well have said: "Ich bin keiner von den Propheten, ich bin nur ihr Vorleser."

quite certainly before Sirach and the Hebrew book of Dn" (p. 102). Again, "there is not one clear instance of dependence upon Ez until we come to Sirach" (p. 103). To his own surprise, Burrows comes to the conclusion that "the view of Ez as a product of the late pre-Maccabean period is not only possible but very probable" (p. 105). The notable cautiousness of the writer in coming to his conclusions makes his verdict as to the lateness of Ezekiel doubly convincing. Of special importance are the evident relationships to Second Isaiah.⁵⁸

Despite Spiegel's characterization of arguments from literary relationships as "vague and variable,"⁵⁹ the method is very often concrete and definite; and when, as in the present instance, it is used with good judgment, it is dependable. In Ezekiel, furthermore, the very magnitude of relationship to other books constitutes a cumulative argument in favor of the debt being on his side. He is, in fact, an habitual borrower.⁶⁰ Nor is his book the kind we should expect to see frequently quoted by the poets, prophets and priests to whose writings his oracles are closely related. His very attitude toward the "old time" (38: 17) indicates as clearly as can be that he is simply one who follows in the train of earlier and greater prophets, and that he himself is probably too late to be a source book for any but the very latest Old Testament writers.

An additional indication that Ezekiel belongs here is the double reference in 14: 14 and 20 to Daniel and Job in conjunction, as also to Daniel's wisdom in 28: 3. Professor Albright's contention,⁶¹ that the mention of Daniel in the Alein epic recently found at Ras Shamra in northern Phoenicia proves that the Daniel of Ezekiel is not the Biblical hero of that name, is not convincing. The *collocation* of the two names, together with that of Noah, in Ezek. 14: 14, 20 makes it impossible to believe that the writer was thinking only of the *prototypes* of these two late books. That he knew the books we have seems the nearest, simplest and most reasonable explanation of his passing mention of these characters; and this explanation is consonant with all the other evidence of lateness.

⁵⁸ See Torrey, *Second Isaiah*, 1928, p. 108; *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 91-93; *JBL*, LIII, pp. 318-320.

⁵⁹ P. 310.

⁶⁰ Cp. Burrows, p. 101.

⁶¹ In *JBL*, LI, pp. 99 f.; cp. Torrey's reply, *ibid.*, p. 181; also *Pseudo-Ezek.*, pp. 97 f. See also J. W. Jack, *Ras Shamra Tablets*, 1935, pp. 22 f.

In the case of Daniel, it would appear that the stories in chs. 1-6, rather than the predictions of 7-12, are in his mind. If these tales be dated c. 240 B.C.,⁶² it makes Ezekiel, who thus refers to them, one of the latest books in the Old Testament canon.

V. THE AMAZING CLAIRVOYANCE OF THE PROPHET IS BEST EXPLAINED
AS PREDICTION AFTER THE EVENT

How account for the infallible skill of Ezekiel in foreseeing, often years before their actual occurrence, the most minute details of future events? Consider, for example, in 12: 12 ff. (cp. 11: 9 f.) the extremely circumstantial prediction of the attempted escape and capture of Zedekiah, the judgment at Riblah, the blinding of the king, and his deportation to Babylon—all this exactly as narrated in 2 Kings 25: 4-7! Again in 24: 1 f. he not only sees from distant Babylon the approach of the Babylonian king to the siege of Jerusalem, but records the date. In 24: 15-18 he foresees in the morning the death that same evening of his beloved wife by a stroke. Similarly, he narrates in 33: 21 f. a distinct premonition of the approach of a fugitive from destroyed Jerusalem. In the foreign oracles he describes, years beforehand, the attitudes and actions of Edom, Ammon, Moab, etc. toward Judah during the last siege and thereafter. But the most astounding feat of all is recounted in 11: 13. Here he perceives Pelatiah fall dead from terror in Jerusalem at the very moment the prophet in Tel-Abib is uttering dire predictions against the holy city. Does Pelatiah, too, possess the gift of ecstatic clairvoyance?

For one, or even two, such remarkable instances we might be content to accept Smend's argument⁶³ that Swedenborg had an experience in 1759 similar to those described in 24: 1 f. and 33: 21 f.⁶⁴ But in Ezekiel's case clairvoyance appears to have become a confirmed habit. Kittel⁶⁵ defends the historicity of these incidents on the ground that some authorities in abnormal psychology grant

⁶² See *Enc. Brit.*,¹⁴ 1929, vol. 7, pp. 29 f.; cp. also Montgomery, *Daniel* (ICC), 1927, p. 96.—Observe that Montgomery's statement (pp. 90 f.) of Torrey's explanation of the two languages is far from accurate.

⁶³ P. 171.

⁶⁴ See the discussion of these and other instances in Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 14, 40, 71-83. Cp. Seinecke's remarks (pp. 2 ff.) on the vast difference between Ezekiel's incredible predictions and those of a prophet like Isaiah.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

the possibility of occasional second sight. But to one who freely and fearlessly accepts the principles of modern critical study, this acceptance of remote possibility as fact for so many instances seems too much like mere subterfuge. As will presently appear, a more reasonable explanation is possible.

Several scholars have sought to avoid the difficulties inherent in Kittel's explanation, by supposing that Ezekiel embellished his narrative with certain details after the event; as Bertholet expresses it,⁶⁶ the wording of the prediction may have been influenced by its fulfilment. Bittenwieser definitely makes the whole book a prophecy after the event, first written in 570 B.C. He even goes so far as to deny that Ezekiel predicted the fall of Jerusalem until after it occurred.⁶⁷ But if the book is really a product of the sixth century, both Bertholet and Bittenwieser come near to making the prophet a liar. Such apologetic is too harshly heroic to appeal to most students! As Lofthouse, commenting on 24: 1 f., poses the dilemma: "Either Ezekiel was a deliberate deceiver, or he was possessed of some sort of second sight."⁶⁸ Hölscher is quite justified in maintaining that if the prophet only learned of Pelatiah's death at a later time, his representation of the event in 11: 13 is "ein unleugbarer Betrug." His solution of the problem is to shift these legendary narratives to the shoulders of the fifth century redactor he makes responsible for most of Ezekiel.⁶⁹ While this is a move in the right direction it is not justifiable, if our contention as to the unity of Ezekiel is accepted, thus to attribute these narratives to a ghost writer.

When critics read astounding tales of second sight in the historical books, they have no difficulty in classifying them as fiction. In the book of *Daniel* we have an even closer parallel to Ezekiel. Here the commentators offer the eminently reasonable and satisfactory explanation that it belongs to a well known type of imaginative literature, popular in later Judaism, called the *pseudepigraph*. People then firmly believed that the ancient prophets could and did predict even the minutest details of future events; otherwise,

⁶⁶ Pp. XXII f.

⁶⁷ "The Date and Character of Ezekiel's Prophecies," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, VII, 1930, pp. 17 f.

⁶⁸ *Ezekiel* (New Cent. Bible), p. 202.—Certainly a man of Ezekiel's orderly type of mind would not have been self-deceived.

⁶⁹ Pp. 76 f.; cp. p. 126 (on 24: 1 ff.); see also Kuhl, pp. 108 f.

why did God inspire them? The pseudepigraph placed in the mouths of these prophets appropriate messages, and predictions of events the author knew from tradition or read about in the sacred books.⁷⁰ Abundant illustration of this point of view is to be found in the New Testament, not only in the Apocalypse, but also in the constant references to Old Testament predictions in the Gospels and Acts.⁷¹ Why deny for the book of Ezekiel the sensible explanation we so freely accept for its prototype, Daniel? Especially since all other explanations either strain our credulity, or involve the prophet in suspicion of intentional or unintentional deceit? The best explanation of the book would therefore appear to be that it belongs to the same type of prediction after the event as that found in the apocalyptic pseudepigraph of Daniel.

VI. IN THE FIGURE OF GOG MAY BE REFLECTED THE MEMORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

If Ezekiel, like Daniel, is an apocalypse and pseudepigraph, it is extremely probable that in the cryptic figure of Gog (chs. 38 f.) there lurks the vivid memory of some mighty oppressor.⁷² It was not the custom, of course, in this type of literature to come out plainly with the name. Consequently we are thrown back upon conjecture as to the identity of this almost superhuman figure, whose attack and ultimate destruction are depicted in the vivid phrases of Jewish eschatology. Who is the terrible invader? Seinecke⁷³ identifies him as Antiochus Epiphanes. Havet⁷⁴ offers the improbable suggestion that chs. 38 f. were added to Ezekiel at the time of the Parthian invasion of 40 B.C., and identifies Gog with the Pacorus of the Greek historians and Josephus. Winckler,⁷⁵

⁷⁰ See Driver's remarks (*LOT*, p. 91) concerning Deuteronomy, which is also really a pseudepigraph; cp. also *Deuteronomy* (ICC), p. LVIII: "He (the writer) places Moses on the stage, and exhibits him pleading his case with the degenerate Israel of Josiah's day."

⁷¹ Cp. the detailed predictions connected with the death of Judas in Acts 1: 15 ff. and Matt. 27: 9 f.

⁷² See Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, p. 257: "The prophet, whether Ezekiel or another, . . . is doubtless applying the mythical names of Gog and Magog to some actual enemies he has in mind."

⁷³ P. 14.

⁷⁴ *La modernité des prophètes*, 1891, pp. 231 f.

⁷⁵ *Allorientalische Forschungen*, II, 1898, pp. 160-171. Chs. 38 f. he makes a later addition to Ezekiel. He has some sarcastic things to say about the ultra-conservative attitude of his contemporaries among Biblical scholars.

basing his opinion largely on the mention of the "isles" in 39:6, conjectured that Gog represents Alexander the Great. This was also the opinion of the renowned Orientalist, Nöldeke, who in 1928 first made the suggestion to Professor Torrey.⁷⁶ But it is the latter who has developed and grounded this thesis most fully.⁷⁷ Only Alexander and his forces, he argues, can begin to fit the description Ezekiel gives of "highly trained and thoroughly equipped armies." The reference in 39:6 to the *'iyyim* (the Greek coastlands and islands) indicates that the Macedonian kingdom is meant. In 38:13 the reference is probably, as in Joel 4:6-8, to Phoenician traders accompanying Alexander's armies.

When one considers the speed with which Alexander became—as he still continues to be—a legendary figure in the Near East,⁷⁸ it does not seem strained to recognize him in the figure of Gog. The mention of Persia in 38:5 and 27:10 adds its bit of corroboration to this identification. Persia has already evidently *emerged upon the stage of history for the Jews*. (Elsewhere in the Old Testament the name is found only in Daniel, Esther and the Chronicler).⁷⁹ All the lines of evidence we have followed, be it observed, agree perfectly with this placing of Ezekiel after the time of Alexander.

In the foregoing endeavor to fix base lines as guides toward a rational understanding of Ezekiel, two things have come to the front: first, there is extraordinarily strong evidence for the unity of the book; and second, the unanimous testimony of language, theology, literary relationships, reputed clairvoyance of the prophet and, finally, the apocalyptic figure of Gog, all converge to indicate that this is a late pseudepigraph of Palestinian provenance. But if a pseudepigraph, the question at once arises: By whom do these oracles purport to be uttered? The confusion introduced by the

⁷⁶ See Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 95 f.; *JBL*, LIII, p. 292; cp. Nöldeke's letter to Littmann in 1930 (quoted by Eissfeldt, *Palästina-jahrbuch*, 27 Jahrg., p. 65): "Dass Alexander d. Gr. unter dem Namen Nebukadnezar's, der Tyrus belagert, im Ezechiel vorkommt, weiss ich längst."

⁷⁷ See references in last note; cp. also his article, "Alexander the Great in the Old Testament Prophecies," *ZATW*, Beiheft 41, 1925, pp. 281-286.

⁷⁸ See A. Weigall, *Alexander the Great*, 1933.

⁷⁹ In *JBL*, LI, p. 181 (cp. LIII, p. 317), Torrey effectively meets Albright's argument for Ezekiel's early date based on the mention of Persia in older documents.

secondary Babylonian dating does its part to render difficult the answer to the question.

Probably the best immediate clue to the intended setting of the prophecy is that offered by the cryptic dating, almost universally acknowledged to be original, "in the thirtieth year" (1:1). Whose thirtieth year? Usually such dates are reckoned after the reign of some king. This would here probably mean before 586 B.C. What seems the best suggestion given is that of Professor Torrey, who argues that King Manasseh is intended.⁸⁰ In 2 Kings 21 (cp. 23: 26 f.; 24: 4) Manasseh's rule is scathingly denounced, especially for idolatry and the shedding of innocent blood. Precisely these sins constitute the burden of Ezekiel's polemic throughout. Strong corroboration of this identification is offered by James Smith and Curt Kuhl, who had each independently decided that Manasseh is meant.⁸¹ If this idea is accepted, the identity of the purported speaker is easy to guess: it will be one of the unnamed prophets whose invectives against Manasseh, strikingly after the manner of Ezekiel, are mentioned in 2 Kings 21: 10-15 (cp. 24: 2).

So much for the setting of this pseudepigraph. What about the actual date of composition? Here we are thrown back, just as in Daniel, to such items of internal evidence as are charted out in the propositions discussed above. It appears that the book was written, as already suggested, after Daniel 1-6, which it seems to presuppose. In the other direction, Ben Sira's mention of the prophet sets an extreme lower limit of c. 180 B.C. Allowing sufficient time for the book to become recognized as the work of a prophet, we are probably justified in setting a tentative date of c. 225 B.C. In effect this is an extension to the whole book of the late dates assigned to most or part of it by scholars like Hölcher and Berry.⁸² This new conception enables us to understand many of Ezekiel's peculiarities as being simply incidental to the late pseud-

⁸⁰ *Pseudo-Ezek.*, pp. 58 ff.; cp. *JBL*, LIII, pp. 306-311.

⁸¹ Without, however, positing either late date or pseudepigraphic character for the book. See above, note 38.

⁸² The late date explains why Babylonia is not included among the foreign oracles. Egypt under the Ptolemies was now in the forefront, and Babylonia was an ancient memory.—Notice also the possibility that the original prophecy was anonymous (Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezek.*, p. 111). The hesitation of Jewish scholars to accept the book may well go back to the confusion caused by the new setting imposed upon it (*ibid.*, pp. 11-23; *JBL*, LIII, pp. 295-299).

epigraphic style of composition. It also helps solve many of the problems listed at the beginning of this inquiry.

What was the unknown author's purpose in writing this group of "historical sermons?" Much the same as that of earnest religious men of all times. He sought by concrete illustration to bring home to his own generation the eternal validity of moral and spiritual laws, to exalt human personality in terms of individual responsibility, and to represent as best he might the transcendent holiness of the one true God. Doubtless the inroads of alien, and especially Greek, life and thought were already playing havoc with the beliefs established in olden times; for we must remember that the Maccabean persecution was not far away. Here is offered, in the favorite literary form of its day, an eloquent and steady religious philosophy of history.

"Crisis" was used by Professor Kittel to characterize the state of Ezekiel research in his day, as quoted in our opening sentence. Thanks to recent epochal investigations, the old concept of the book is even more untenable today; it must yield to newer and more adequate views. Three principal interpretations are now contesting for supremacy. One, the most popular, would take the violent step of partitioning the book among several authors; another would assign the book, entire, to Northern Israel after Samaria's fall in 722 B.C.; and the third recognizes in Ezekiel a late pseudepigraph purporting to be spoken in Jerusalem during Manasseh's reign. The weight of evidence, as indicated in the present investigation, seems to assure the correctness of this last hypothesis. It alone seems competent to make the book at all intelligible.—One need hardly point out the imperative need of finding a satisfactory answer to this pressing problem of contemporary criticism; for upon it depends in large measure not only our understanding of the book itself, but also of the whole development of the later Hebrew religion.

THE EDESSENE ORIGIN OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON

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Research and discussion on the origin and character of the Odes of Solomon have come almost to a standstill. One can add hardly anything of importance to Gressmann's statement of the case in Hennecke's *"Neutestamentliche Apokryphen"* (²1924, p. 437). It runs as follows: "Formerly a few lines of quotation in Lactantius (*Inst.* iv, 12:3) were all we knew of the Odes of Solomon. The Coptic text of the *Pistis Sophia* (ed. C. Schmidt in the Berlin Corpus vol. xiii, 1905) brought an addition of five Odes. At present the Odes are almost complete in a Syriac translation, which Rendel Harris discovered (*"The Odes and Psalms of Solomon,"*¹ 1909,² 1911). Harris and Mingana published their final edition at Manchester in 1916-20.

Greek was the original language, and a retranslation into Greek was attempted by Frankenberg (*"Das Verständniss der O. S."*) in 1911. For a long time their place in history remained a matter of uncertainty. The original editor suggested a Jewish-Christian origin. Harnack (*"Ein Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert,"* = T. U. xxxv, 4, 1910) proposed a Jewish *Grundschrift* afterwards christianized by redactors. Labourt and Batiffol (*"Les Odes de Salomon,"* 1911) advanced the hypothesis of an origin "en marge de l'église." Gunkel (z. N. w. 1910, pp. 291-328) made a case for gnosticism, Bernard (*"The Odes of Solomon,"* 1912) for sacramental mysticism. Frankenberg maintained, finally, that the Odes were a product of Alexandrine theology. The majority of those in the field agree, nowadays, on their being a collection of Gnostic Hymns from the ii^d Century. The literature up to 1914 is catalogued in G. Kittel's *"Die O. S. überarbeitet oder einheitlich?"* Leipzig, 1914."

Though well arranged and useful, Kittel's bibliography is not complete. One can supply part of its deficiencies from the standard edition by Harris and Mingana, vol. ii, pp. 455-464, the "bibliographical index," which goes down to 1920.

As to Gressmann's opinions as quoted above, one may be allowed some doubts. The study of the Odes having been international, it is difficult to be certain of a majority for their "Gnostic" origin, even if it should exist. Gnosticism is, moreover, a word with more than one meaning. Montanism e.g. has been suggested in the same periodical in which Gunkel published one of his pleas for Gnostic origin, viz. z. N. w. 1911, pp. 70-75: F. C. Conybeare "*The Odes of Solomon Montanist*," and, independently in another issue, pp. 108-125, S. A. Fries "*Die O. S. montanistische Lieder aus dem 2 Jahrhundert*."

This omission is not serious, as other and more disputable views have also been passed over. But the confidence with which a Greek text is asserted as the original of the Syriac Odes is far from having been borne out by fact.

Syriac scholars are rather guarded in their utterances on this point, and, to my knowledge, several alleged cases of mistranslation or violation of Syriac idiom, which should be due to an underlying Greek text, have been quite abandoned. Those which I know of, were explicable, as far as they had any substance, from the influence of the Syriac Bible.

The one thing which tends to create a presumption for a Greek original is the fact that the Odes occur in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, a Patriarch of Constantinople in the beginning of the ixth century. The Psalms and Odes of Solomon are mentioned there as containing 2100 verses. As this number must have been counted on a Greek text, Nicephorus must have found a canon-list which represented a Greek Bible containing among its Solomonic apocrypha a Greek text of the Odes.

The Syriac style of the Odes is admittedly not of the very best, but there is abundant evidence of original Syriac composition, both in prose and in verse, which is far less pure. For that matter the lost Greek may just as well have been a translation from the Syriac.

The Syriac origin of the Odes cannot be ruled out as improbable, for in the field of hymnography the Syrian Church had given the lead and the Greeks were following as imitators. On this point e.g. one should consult C. Eméreau, *Saint Ephrem le Syrien, son oeuvre littéraire grecque*, Paris, 1918. There cannot be any doubt about Syriac influence on the origin of Greek hymnography.

The Greek words in the Coptic of the "*Pistis Sophia*" provide no proof of a Greek original. Such words should be of a very peculiar

and uncommon character to carry proof: in this case a Coptic translator would insert them in his text in despair. Ordinary Greek words, however, are used at random in Coptic writings, perhaps often enough as embellishments. The fact that Lactantius seems as a rule not to quote a Latin translation if he can avoid it, does not disprove the existence of a Greek text in his days. It does not furnish any proof for the contrary (see: Abbott, E. A., *Diatessarica IX*, §§3637a and 3707f, pp. 2 and 104-5, Cambridge, 1912) either: his Latin can have been derived from an original Syriac just as well as the Coptic in the *Pistis Sophia*.

If a Greek translation—or even a Greek original—existed in the iii^d–ivth century, it must have been rare, or soon have become rare, since the search for quotations and allusions to the Odes in Greek texts has proved so disappointing. If, e.g. Nicephorus († 815 A.D.) had had access to Greek Bibles containing the Odes as a companion-text to the well-known “Psalms of Solomon,” Theodorus Studites († 826 A.D.), his contemporary, and fellow-victim of the iconoclasts, would in all probability have known them. Now Theodore of the Studium was a great versifier; his “canons,” epigrams and other poetry were admired. Yet I have failed to find a single allusion or parallel to the Odes in his poetry or in that of several of his followers. A better result could have been expected, since the Odes abound in striking and peculiar expressions and imagery.

It seems evident, therefore, that one should not be too confident about the Odes having been Greek from the beginning. The evidence is, at all events, not conclusive and seems to point slightly the other way. This being the case, one must regret that Gressmann omitted from his enumeration of conflicting views the opinion of Grimme (“*Die O. S. syrisch, hebräisch, deutsch, ein kritischer Versuch*,” 1911), who submitted a Hebrew retranslation of the Odes as a proof of their having been composed originally in Hebrew surroundings. Grimme’s attempt was not too felicitous, owing to his theories on the nature of Hebrew and Syriac versification, but Frankenberg’s Greek reconstruction was still less a success.

If Gressmann, in his article in Hennecke’s *Ntl. Apokr.*, had paid more attention to important non-German literature he could have improved upon the statements quoted above. Tondelli’s “*Le Odi di Salomone, cantici cristiani degli inizi del ii secolo*” (Rome, 9114) is, e.g., a work of real merit, for which Dr. Angelo Mercati has

taken the trouble of writing an introduction. In the "YEARBOOK OF UPPSALA UNIVERSITY" for 1910 (not '11 or '12) pp. 1-187 Lindblom has published a penetrating study of the idea of "life" in Pauline and Johannine literature, but, as mentioned in the Swedish title of the article, the Odes are there too. In fact they form the main theme, and Lindblom tries to make a case for their being a specimen of a Jewish mysticism of syncretistic origin. This applies principally to the 13 "Saviour-odes," for, on Harnack's lines, he ascribes the "Jesus-odes" and the rest of the collection to a later Christian revision.

The Semitic origin of the Odes, however, is *not* ruled out by the rejection of a Hebrew original or of such *Grundschrift*-theories, as Gerhard Kittel has apparently definitely refuted. On the contrary, the vague metrical scheme, the rhythm and the style of this poetry are so thoroughly un-Greek and so fundamentally Semitic and even Syriac, that, to my view, there is no presumption at all that can hold for a non-Semitic original.

If the "Odes" were in prose, the case would be different. But, however obscure the laws of early Syriac poetry¹ may still be to most of us—its superficial characteristics being well enough known—, if the Odes were a poetical translation from the Greek, their translator must have been an exceptional master in his art for they undoubtedly read as Syriac verse and that quite naturally. For this reason it is worth while to mention Diettrich's "*Die Oden Salomos unter Berücksichtigung der überlieferten Stichengliederung . . . übersetzt und mit einem Kommentar versehen*" (Berlin, 1911), as this book pays attention to this point. As it appeared in 1911 and was written by a competent Syriac scholar, it should not have been ignored.

The evidence for the alleged Gnosticism of the Odes cannot be very strong on Gressmann's own showing: his enumeration of different views is in itself eloquent enough. However, the case is, to my view, not so weak as, e.g., Frankenberg's thesis would imply, but the fact that the "Pistis Sophia" had to elaborate quite a "targum" in order to adapt its quotations from the Odes

¹ Cf. G. Hölscher, "*Syrische Verskunst*" (= Leipz. semitist. studien, N. F. V), 1932. Hölscher, a specialist in Arabic metre, starts from the melodies as they are sung in Syriac liturgy. Th. Weiss's "*Zur Ostsyrischen Akzentlehre*" (= Bonner orientalist. Studien V), 1923 does not really further our subject. Brockelmann (p. L. z. 193 B.C. 91889) is convinced that Hölscher is right.

to their new, Gnostic surroundings, tells heavily against the pretended universal agreement.

Gnosticism is an elusive term. With some scholars it seems really to mean syncretistic mythology, with others a "Religionsphilosophie" of syncretistic stamp. In both cases the term is, against the older and more generally received use, not reserved for Christian speculation of this type. Something would be gained in the way of unambiguous expression if we agreed to speak of Pagan and Christian Syncretism respectively, reserving the term "Gnosticism" for those early heretics, who tried to base their theological system on the principle of "theodicy by theogony." The real Gnostic is a Christian theologian who tries to free the Supreme Being from the responsibility of having created a material, passing and base cosmos, sinning humanity included, by the introduction of a series of intermediate agents to whom he ascribes the quality of divinity in lesser degrees.

If, however, one does not object to labelling all figurative language which happens to differ from our present Western standard as "Gnostic," and if one should brand with that same stamp every expression or thought that seems, to us, more or less foreign to the Greek and Roman Fathers, one will forever be unable to distinguish Eastern "Vulgärchristentum" from Christian Syncretism, perhaps even from the Pagan variety. One should e.g. bear in mind that extraordinary adaptability which was a principle of Manichæism, as we begin to see from the newly discovered Coptic documents. The fact that Augustine himself had been a Manichee in practice and a Neoplatonist in theory before he became a Father of the Church speaks volumes.

The case for the presumably "Gnostic" origin of the Odes is shown in its outlines in the literature which followed on their discovery. One need but consult a bibliography to find in the year 1911 two publications connecting the origin of the Odes with Bardesanes, the author or originator of the "*Book of the Laws of the Countries*," usually known as "*De Fato*." In the "AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY" of that year Sprengling has treated this subject on pp. 459-464, and, independently, in the "JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE" (1911, pp. 161-204) the same hypothesis of Edessene and Bardesanian origin was proposed by Newbold. In Europe neither of them has received much attention, and personally I should reject the hypothesis, all Bardesanian traits that can be

verified as such being absent from the Odes and conversely. But this fact is just as characteristic for the problem of the Odes as Conybeare's and Fries's Montanist hypothesis. Yet, as sound and cautious a critic as Dhorme reviewing Newbold's contribution in the *REVUE BIBLIQUE INTERNATIONALE* of 1912 (p. 468) summed up in this terse phrase: "the resemblances are indeed fugitive: these Odes are less gnostic than this least gnostic of all Gnostics was himself."

Yet something more ought to be said on it here. Bardaisan was born on the banks of the Edessene river *Daiṣan*, July 11th, 154. He became a Christian in 179, was soon ordained as a deacon by the bishop of the national Church of the Kingdom, *Hystaspes*, excommunicated by his successor in the see, *'Aqī*, and died in 222. He had been educated with the son of the Osrhoënian king *Ma'nū VIII*, who reigned afterwards as *Abgar IX* (179-214) and who, from 202 onwards, after his visit to the imperial court at Rome, became the first Christian monarch in the history of the world.²

One may suspect that *Abgar's* conversion was a matter of international politics: his realm was a Roman protectorate. By making Christianity the religion of his state, he could counteract the absorbing influence of the worldly and spiritual powers of the West.

The national Church, however, was not created by this king. This Church derived its origin and organisation in a legendary way from the apostles *Thomas* and *Addai* (= *Thaddaeus*?). In reality it seems to have supplanted Jewish proselytism, which was already in the field and had obtained a sensational success in the kingdom of *Adiabene*, where the royal family was converted to Judaism. *Abgar* must have been conscious of the "Apostolic" origin of his Church and of its independence of Rome. A tension between the Roman see and his national bishop, or between this dignitary and the members of the national Church must have been a serious affair for him. And *Bardesanes*, being his friend and, in a certain sense, the court-theologian, must have been fully aware of these facts. The difficulties, however, did not come from Rome

² For the history of the Edessene kingdom: *Chronicon Edessenum*, ed. Hallier (T. U. IX, 1) and I. Guidi (*Chronica minora in Corpus Scr. Chr. Oriental. Ser. III*, 14). Literature: R. Duval, *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première Croisade*, 1892; F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 1909; *Euphemia and the Goth*, 1913; I. Ortis de Urbina, *Le origini del Cristianesimo in Edessa*, GRES. XV, 82-91.

but from the see of Antioch, which tried to extend its supremacy over the Church of the Edessene kingdom. All this happened during the troubled years preceding the reign of the emperor Severus (193-211), himself a Semite on the Roman throne.

This excursus into history, is important for our suggestion of an Edessene origin for the Odes.

Bardesanes at one time had compromised himself by indulging in astrological metaphysics. Afterwards he combated such views, but his main work—which should be called from its contents “On Freewill and *Εἰσαγωγή*” is certainly not Gnostic. Eusebius (*Praep. Evangelica* VI, 9:32 sqq.) quotes him at length and with obvious respect. He even defends him in *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 30:2 by recording that he condemned the Valentinian School and had written extensive polemics against its theological ravings. He also significantly omits mentioning the “Bardesianian” heresy of his days and the influence of its Hymnology, which drove Ephrem, perhaps already during Eusebius’ lifetime, to combat it with his poetry. Of course, Eusebius could not demur too openly to the public opinion of his days, his final testimony being: “He seemed convinced of his conversion to a more orthodox opinion, but he never purged himself completely of the dirt of his previous heresy.”

For our purpose it would be important to know the circumstances which led to Bardesanes’ excommunication, but our only source here is *Michael Syrus* (Jacobite Patriarch, 1166-1199), ed. Chabot, p. 110: “Bardesanes had four sons. . . . ‘Aqī, who succeeded as a bishop to Hystaspes, admonished him, and, as he did not accept persuasion, anathematized him. And Bardesanes died in the year 533 (= 222 A.D.), 68 years of age.”

Bardesanes, according to this same author, had been the pupil of a certain heathen priest at Hiërapolis (= Mabûg, Membidg) under whose direction he had studied pagan hymnology. This may have been a preparation for his Christian poetry in which he was assisted by his son Harmonius.

The comparison of the Odes (the character of which, if “gnostic,” cannot have been too dissimilar from this Bardesianian poetry) with the poetry of Ephrem Syrus must, therefore, be a matter of first importance. For it is certain that Ephrem has imitated Bardesanes in order to supplant his influence by orthodox hymns. Bardesianian canticles were so popular that Ephrem had

to follow this method. It appears from these facts, that the Syrian Church of the ii^d, iii^d and ivth centuries was indeed a singing church. Singing must have been a particularly important part of its liturgy, and poetry a natural means of expression and propaganda. Even if the Odes are not Bardesianian and not "Gnostic" in any palpable and definite sense, the Edessene Church is surely a likely place to look for their origin. And, as this church continued to favour Bardesianian hymnology until Ephrem succeeded in driving it out by his new canticles, one of the following conclusions must hold good: this older hymnology was not so unorthodox as Ephrem makes it, or this Edessene "Vulgärchristentum" was less sensitive on the point of orthodoxy, as it was understood in the Greek world.

The case for a Bardesianian origin of the Odes is, therefore, stronger than it appeared, e.g. to Dhorme. And as the best parallels to the Odes are indeed found in Ephrem and Balai, and their force does not depend on the acceptance or rejection of Bernard's theory that the Odes must be baptismal hymns, we must show here why the Bardesianian school cannot be the circle from which the Odists came.

One might obviate one of the most patent difficulties by the hypothesis that e.g. the absence of cosmological theory in our Odes is due to an orthodox revision. The revised collection could have been baptized "Odes of Solomon" as a camouflage for its objectionable origin. The lacerated condition of Ode xxvii and the strange return of its three remaining verses as a heading to Ode xlii might give color to the guess that a small part of the Bardesianian Psalter may have succeeded in escaping destruction in this way.

But one should hear Bardesanes himself (*Patrologia Syriaca* I, 2, "*Liber Legum Regionum*," ed. F. Nau, annotavit Nöldeke, pp. 492-658).

Bardesanes' theology, which was orthodox enough in its time, or at least was not yet actually condemned, was crowned by an evolutionist theodicy. "It has been ordained that these three Powers, viz. Nature, *Heimarmene* and Freedom should be valid until the Whole is completed and the measure is filled. Thus has it pleased Him who reigneth supreme . . . in order that there should come at a certain time an equilibrium of all realities and entities (ch. xxii)." "If we (human beings) had power over everything, we men would be the Whole, and if nothing were within our power,

we should be but the instruments of other beings. If God chooses to do something, everything is possible without any disorder ensuing from it, for nothing can resist his great and holy will.

"Even those who, in their opinion, are opposing Him, have their standing not by their power but by their wickedness and error, and only during a short time . . . for God is good and permits every being to remain in its own measure and to be guided by its own will.

"But there are real bounds and limits which have been fixed for the general weal. For this fixed order (of the heavenly Powers) and their compulsory cooperation is the impediment which prevents them from ever growing supreme in their noxious power, as was the case before the *kosmos* was created.

"And the time shall come when the harm which still is in them, shall have wholly disappeared as a result of the experience which they have acquired in this other mixed condition. And in the composition of this new world all wicked motions shall have subsided and all rebelliousness shall have ended. The unwise will have been convinced and the shortcomings will have been completed and there shall be Peace and Rest in all Beings by the gracious gift of the Lord" (ch. xlvii).

These impressive ideas are Bardesanes' most individual property. From the first medley of Chaos God created this temporary *kosmos* in which God's law acts as a *εἰσπραμένη* limiting the freedom of the whole range of beings (cf. Rom. viii, 38, 39; I Cor. xv, 25; Eph. i, 20 sq., vi, 12; Col. i, 16 sq., ii, 15) until they all have learned to accord by free consent with the exigencies of the whole as it had been planned by God's good and holy will. So the evil in this still mixed world is explained and the 'earnest expectation' of Creation (Rom. viii, 19-39) falls in with a Divine Counsel which educates every earthly and supernatural being capable of salvation³ to partake of the glorious consummation.

It is, therefore, impossible that e.g. *Ode xii* should be Bardesanian. Verse 4 could pass: "and the Most High hath given it (viz. the Word) to His Aeons, which are the interpreters of His own beauty, and the repeaters of His praise, and the confessors of His counsel, and the heralds of His thought, and the chasteners of His servants." But the content of vv. 8-10 runs contrary to the fundamental idea of Bardesanes: "And by it (the Word) the Aeons talk one to the

³ Cf. Ch. xii, "except those who are not created for good and are called *ῥιζάνια*."

other; and in the Word there were those that were silent;⁹ and from it came love and concord; and they spake one to another whatever was theirs; and they were penetrated by the Word;¹⁰ and they knew Him who made them, *because they were in concord; &c.*"

This reminds one of the curious way in which I Clement (xix, 2, xx, 9) makes use of the 'peace and concord' in the visible universe as an argument on behalf of 'peace and concord' among Christians. But the idea as expressed in this Ode is the opposite of Bardesanes' conviction. Neither here nor elsewhere is any trace found of Bardesanes' characteristic theological ideas. The Odist has another outlook and also appears to be more of a mystic.

On the other hand it is difficult to reconcile Bardesanes' own thought with the Odist's sacramental imagery. It can hardly be an accident that this treatise, *De Fato*, does not contain a trace of baptism. It does not mention any supernatural grace shielding man against the malignity of the demonic world, although it does fully recognize the existence of such powers.

And this means that the Odes are "Vulgärchristlich" and not even in a revised way Bardesanian. For, as shown above, Bardesanes' difficulty must have been in the first place that his theology was not of the "vulgärchristlich" type, however strange it may seem to us, who stand in a different line of tradition.

Here a few historical points, which might give rise to objections' must be treated. Though it is dangerous to speak of an universal agreement, critics probably agree in placing the Odes in the ii^d century.

The idea, which deceived Harnack and others into suggesting a date before the Fall of Jerusalem came from the "Temple Odes," Odes iv and vi. Much argument has been expended on this point, and even the Onias-temple has been brought in, but it is generally assumed, as far as one can be sure, that the spiritual "temple" or the celestial sanctuary of the New Jerusalem suffices. The chronological objection disappears at the same time.

However, another chronological hint might be hidden here, and one which might be substantiated from the *Chronicon Edessenum*.

Ode iv: 1-9.

1. No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place;
Nor is (one able) to change it, and put it in another place.

- 2a. Because he hath *no power* over it;
- 2b. For thy sanctuary Thou designedst before Thou didst make places:
- 3a. That which is the elder shall not be changed by *those that are younger* than itself:
- 3b. Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers.
4. Thou wilt never fail,
Nor wilt Thou be without fruits:
5. For one hour of thy Faith
Is more precious than all days and years.
6. For who is there that shall put on thy grace and be injured?
7. For thy *seal* is known:
And thy creatures are known to it.
8. And the hosts possess it:
And the elect archangels are clad with it.
9. Thou hast given us thy fellowship:
It was not that Thou wast in need of us;
But that we are in need of thee.

According to the *Chronicon Edessenum* (т. V. IX, 1., ed. Hallier, 1892, pp. 48-62, 86, 146) the Daisan (Gr. Σκυρρός), which traversed the town, caused four big inundations; in A. D. 201, 303, 313 and 525. Then the emperor (Justinian the Great) had its course deflected and regularized. In 201 the Christian Church was ruined by the inundation. It was reconstructed, evidently on its old and exposed site, for in 303 it must have suffered again. At least in 313 bishop Qôna and his successor Sa'd had to rebuild it entirely. The inundation of 525 once more did such damage that Justinian had to rebuild it again.

From these facts therefore, one may safely conclude that there must have been a constant controversy on the safety of "the holy place" and a desire to "put it in another place," probably the place of some chapel of a "younger" date, which was less exposed. The conservative party must have put its trust in the consecration of the ancient place by some "seal" of the "grace of the Lord." This cannot have been the presence of the relics of St. Thomas, for these the church received, according to the same source, in 394. Neither can it have been the "letter of Christ to Abgar," for Abgar Ukâmâ (the fifth Abgar) reigned from 4 B.C. to 7 A.D. and from 13-50 A.D. and is confused by the "Abgar legend" with the ninth

Abgar, the friend of Bardesanes. The earliest witness for this legend is Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* I. 13, the next in date is "*The Doctrine of Addai*" edited by Phillips. The legend can hardly be older than the ivth century. The "seal" in the Ode must, therefore, if the Ode refers indeed to a controversy on the dangerous place of the older sanctuary, be the sign of the cross, perhaps an ancient cross which was connected with some specially holy person at a very early date.

Now it should be observed that the Edessene Chronist in describing the calamity which ruined the church-building in 201 A.D. uses in the same breath the words *'idthâ* and *haykeldâ*, "church" and "temple." And, in the other Temple-ode, Ode vi, there is not only question of a (spiritualized) river, but the same word *haykeldâ* is used. Here again there are reminiscences of the inundations by which the Daişan flooded the town and destroyed everything.

Ode vi: 7-9

7. For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad,
8. For it *flooded and broke up everything* and brought (it) to the temple (*haykeldâ*).
9. And the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it

Nor the arts of those *whose business it is to restrain the waters*,

- 10a. For it spread over the face of the whole country, and filled everything.

One must pervert this text to find a way in which it could be applied even to the visionary Jerusalem of Ezechiel, and it is difficult to see whence the poet could have derived this curious imagery. It has been suggested that it locates the Odist in Egypt: dykes and other "restraining" of waters by technical people being known there. But all this is perfectly intelligible in Edessa. Edessa is indeed the only place where it was quite natural to speak as the poet does. Egypt cannot be meant, because the Nile never grows from a dwindling "stream" into "a river great and broad." Its rising does not require an eager defence by the arts of a professional corps, which has to guard the town against "the waters,"

and, finally, its spreading "over the face of the whole country" is the reverse of a calamity!

Such calamities were, however, dreaded and but too well known at Edessa. The river traversed the town. It took its name—the "Jumper"—from its sudden risings. On the one side there was the citadel and its rocky heights, on the other hand a flat "country." The poet of Odes iv and vi lives or has lived in Edessa. He wrote either before or after the terrible flood of A.D. 201. The probability is rather before, because the controversy behind Ode iv does not seem to be violent, and because he would not so easily have turned a real calamity into the edifying allegory of Ode vi. Of course, there had been floods at Edessa before 201 A.D., and everybody knew how limited the powers of the "Restrainers of the waters" were, whenever things began to look serious. The exposed position of the "church" or "temple" was common knowledge, and also the faith, that expected special protection from God in such an emergency. Finally the peculiar use of the word *haykeldâ* for a Christian church, might point to Edessa and the Jewish antecedents of its Christian community. The common meaning is "palace" or "temple."

The Odes are not Bardesanian, but they come most probably from the town where he lived. Is it, perhaps, possible to locate them in the history of the Edessene national Church? Is there, perhaps, a body of men to be found who were able to produce and to value this peculiar mixture of mysticism, baptismal imagery, spiritualized eschatology and personal religious life? It must have been a peculiar circle, for *slavery is prohibited*: (Ode xx, 5) "Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the blood of thy soul." Such a thing was impossible for a State-church in a small and exposed borderland as Osrhoëne was. A country that had to provide a considerable force of mounted archers, a town to which Rome had made the present of a mighty hippodrome (for the training and upkeep of its cavalry) could not in any official way try to discard slavery. In the Jewish sphere only the Essenes and the "Therapeutae"—wherever one may wish to date them—held this same view: another proof that such tenets in these days would have meant a social revolution. Opposition to slavery being extremely rare in the ancient Church, one may guess that the Jewish propaganda, which had cleared the field for Christianity, had been deficient in orthodoxy. Popular Ju-

daism, moreover, must have shown much the same traits as popular religion in Islamic countries nowadays. There always is a vast amount of sectarian or other belief and practice tolerated in a religion which lays all stress on the One God and the One Law.

With the conversion of the King and the sort of establishment which the Edessene Church must have acquired after 202 A.D., the older type of believer retired to the background. He must have been disposed of long before; otherwise bishop 'Aqī could not have risked displeasure in high places by his excommunication of Bardesanes. On the other hand, no rehabilitation of Bardesanes followed after 202, when the Christian community became the King's Church. There must have been some crisis in Church affairs at Edessa,⁴ a tension between old and new, between the cultured and the ancient believers, between official Christianity and a less disciplined group which continued earlier traditions.

Of such difficulties we have historical evidence. Eusebius. *Hist. Eccl.* v, 23: 2. 3 has recorded the attempt of Serapion, the bishop of Antiochia to annex the national Church of Osrhoëne to his See. He created a "bishop of Edessa," Palût, who succeeded in forming a rival "Catholic" community within the town—the "Palutians" as they were called—and maintained himself in this ambiguous position from 192–209.

At this time the second outbreak of the Paschal controversy took place and one wonders who organized the writing of 18 letters by Osrhoënian communities to bishop Victor of Rome in 190, or who presided over the Osrhoënian *conciliabulum* on this matter which must have occurred in 197. The careers of the national bishops Hystaspes and 'Aqī did not allow them to lie on beds of roses.

The interpretation of the protest against replacing the ancient sanctuary "by those which are younger"—Ode iv: 3a—may, therefore, conceal another point, just as sharp, this time against the Palutians and their private congregations under a "Catholic" leader. It would not be surprising if there had already been some advice from court quarters to "peace" and "union," as the conversion of the King cannot have been unpremeditated and unprepared.

⁴ Cf. *Amicitiae Corolla*, a volume of essays presented to J. Rendel Harris on the occasion of his lxxxth birthday, pp. 244–355 "Date and Origin of the Epistle of the Eleven Apostles," 1933.

Also, the enigmatic expression "haykelâ d'idthâ dkristianê" can be explained in this connection: "temple" (*haykelâ*) being the name of the building, and "idthâ," i.e. "Church"—from the Hebrew 'edah with its O. T. associations—being both the ancient and the native Christian community. The protest against "Catholic" disruption might in itself explain part of the language of Ode iv, but it does not account for the imagery—floods and restraining of floods—of both Odes iv and vi.

But our thesis does not depend on these Odes only. Burkitt's classic *Lectures on Early Eastern Christianity*, especially pp. 127–154, have shed much light on the early history of the Edessene Church. It offered a number of rather striking peculiarities! Not the whole Church e.g. was baptized according to early Syriac custom, but only those who renounced marriage. Not that this renunciation was deemed exceedingly meritorious or extraordinary; it seems rather to have been self-evident. These men and women, or even virgins, who followed the 'angelic life,' were called 'Sons' and 'Daughters of the Covenant,' *bnay* and *bnâth qeyâmâ*.⁵ Here we have the sort of circle, brotherhood or group we were looking for because of their abolition of slavery and they fit the Odes to a nicety, because the Odist (or Odists) was not only himself a peculiar type of Christian, but in many Odes the community or the audience itself is also exalted above the common. There is often a mention of "sacrifice" and of "victory," and also of a peculiar "peace" as the privilege of this community (e.g. Odes viii, 8, ix, 6, x, 2, xi, 3, xxv, 2, xxxvi, 8 "shelamâ"), which goes best with an asceticism like that of the *Bnay Qeyamâ*, the "Sons of the Covenant." In fact several of our "Odes of Solomon" announce themselves as "*Odes of Sonship*" or as "*Odes of the Qeyamâ*": Ode iii, 9; xxxi, 4; xxxvi, 3; xli, 2, and—what seems decisive—Ode ix, 11 runs:

"Put on the crown in the True Covenant of the Lord"

The "baptismal" character of the Odes, which was rightly emphasized by Bernard and others, agrees with this. And other

⁵ To Wensinck's view (Z. D. M. G. LXIV, 561, 291, 812 [1910]) Burkitt replied in "*Euphemia and the Goth with the Acts of Martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa*," p. 173, 1913; "The *Sons of the Qyamâ* are those whose way of life is that of the saints of God, the approved details varying from age to age. I venture to think it always included a promise...."

characteristics, which seemed to be conflicting, come to unison in this circle of the "Sons of the Covenant." It may even account for the curious impression of unity of authorship, at least of language and style (cf. G. Kittel's study quoted above on p. 286), and the obvious inequality of poetical gifts. The great difference in the subjects of the Odes is also explicable on this hypothesis of a group—these "Sons of the Covenant"—consisting of people of exalted religious sentiments.

This hypothesis also accounts quite naturally for the slender tradition on one hand, and, on the other hand for its persistency. Among monastic communities, even many centuries later, a cognate spirit recognized its own and took care to preserve it. For the same reason Coptic, Greek and Latin translations were made, evidently by and for the use of a select few. One may guess that the Bible, from which ultimately the canon-list of Nicephorus was derived, reposed in a monastic library. The "Odes" were counted there under one heading with the "Psalms" of Solomon, and, if one maintains their Greek origin because their Syriac might seem somewhat indifferent, the real translation-Syriac of the Psalms should be carefully compared.

Finally, the Edessene origin of the Odes may help to explain the genesis of the Solomonic title for this collection, which is so essentially different from all other Solomonic apocrypha, and especially from the Psalms of the Pharisees, with which it became accidentally associated.

One may guess, that these hymns can hardly have been ascribed to Solomon by the original author(s). The title must have crept in somewhere in the course of tradition. It might have been introduced deliberately, in order to shield their somewhat peculiar and unorthodox character. In that case the name of Solomon appears to be a peculiarly shrewd and felicitous invention. But we can do without it, and that is, perhaps, a slightly more probable means of accounting for the fact. It may be assumed, however, that the collection had some title from the very beginning. If this original title had some transcriptional affinity to the name of Solomon, an unintentional change might be the explanation.

Such a title may be discovered: in Ode xxvi, 3 the author speaks of the "Odes of His Rest." In Odes viii-xi, xxv and xxxvi, how-

ever, *shelamâ* is a prominent subject. *Odes of His Peace* might very well have been the original title, of which xxvi, 3 is a variant. In Syriac this would make: *Zmirthê dashelameh*, which would readily suggest the more advantageous *Zmirthê dashelimân* = Odes of Solomon. The transition is so easy that it might have come about as a *bona fide* correction, or by an accident. In itself this point is, perhaps, not evidence, but it may serve as corroborative proof of our hypothesis of the Edessene origin of the Odes and of their character as *ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί* of the "Sons of the Covenant," the ascetic and baptized part of the earliest Christian community in Edessa.

The date of the Odes is, in this case, no longer a matter of uncertainty. They must have been composed after Serapion's preposterous act in creating a "Catholic" see at Edessa and the consequent struggle between the "old" and the "younger" sanctuary, possibly after the great flood of the Scirtus in 201 A.D., when the discussion about the spot on which the "temple" should be reerected was still hot: between 192 and 201 A.D., perhaps a short time after this last date.

We do not know how long these "Sons of the Covenant" survived as a kind of institution. We do not know whether these Odes were used by them in private worship, though the form of several Odes suggests that they were. For the official worship of the Church as we know it from a later time they seem to have been less frequently employed. And as the "Sons of the Covenant" were never, as far as we see, a Greek institution, the Odes must have appeared to the Greek world as *ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί*, i.e. as religious poetry of an entirely private character.

As such they may occasionally have passed the entrance of some monastic church and even have penetrated to its choir. For the lixth canon of the Council of Laodicaea had to provide against such cases: *οὐτὶ οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικὸν ψαλμὸν λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ Καινῆς Διαθήκης*. It is just possible that the Odes had found some acceptance among these private hymns even in the Greek world—as they well deserved to do—for Bernard (*"The Odes of Solomon,"* T. & ST. VIII, 3, 1912, p. 14) found occasion to refer to Ryle and James's *"Psalms of the Pharisees,"* pp. xxiii-iv for the remarkable fact, that in the xiith century Zonaras and Balsamon commenting on the Laodicean canon have connected the name of Solomon with these condemned

"private Psalms." Now the well-known Psalms of Solomon were, strictly taken, not "private" but avowedly apocryphal. They belonged to the ἀκανόνιστα rather than to the ἰδιωτικά. Of course there is not much in this, as these commentators of the secular and ecclesiastical canons and of the Nomocanon were people of curious lore and may have had access to some canon-list of the type which Nicephorus had used three centuries before. It would be very rash to conclude from their words that they ever had even a second-hand acquaintance with the Odes of Solomon.

It is to be hoped that the interpretation of the Odes on the hypothesis of their Edessene origin, dating them 192–201 A.D., will be attempted and may lead to a revival of interest in these rare documents of early Christian faith and life. Personally I think that such an interpretation, as far as my experience goes, tends to clear up most of the difficulties. It disposes of the idea of a poet "impersonating Solomon" and consciously producing a pseudepigraphon. It avoids the strained interpretations of the *Grund-schrift*-hypothesis in its various forms, and it has the advantage of discouraging over-subtle exegesis. A decided advantage of our view of the date and habitat of the Odist(s) is the fact that we now see the typically "Johannine" element as a characteristic of a conservative "Vulgärchristentum" in the centre of Eastern Christianity, Edessa, at the end of the ii^d century. It must have been there at least half a century before and it is not connected with the Thomas- and Addai-traditions. It must, therefore, have been fairly general in early Eastern Christianity. This observation squares with the presence of a cento of Johannine phraseology in the "*Fragments of a Lost Gospel and other Christian Papyri*" (ed. H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, London, 1935). There is, perhaps, more of "John" at the root of Eastern Christianity, and "John" is decidedly less Greek⁶ than was formerly supposed. For the study of this important element in the history of the Christian message and for the better understanding of it, the Odes are an invaluable document. Certainty about their origin, character and date is, therefore, very desirable.

⁶Cf. C. C. Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels*, New York, 1926. Though much of the argument cannot stand, I think he has given evidence, part of which amounts to proof, that at least the Fourth Gospel is a translation of an Aramaic document and contains a stronger Jewish eschatological and Messianic element than was generally admitted.

MIDRASH IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL

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The Books of Samuel in Hebrew may be compared to the painting of an old master that has been retouched and restored during several centuries. The technique of X-ray photography discloses the original painting hidden under the work of later hands; likewise, modern criticism,¹ with more subjective methods, has attempted to identify the great historical masterpiece buried under the literary accumulation of a millennium.² Both form and substance prove that this great book was written by a single author living in the time of David and Solomon. The historical accuracy of the original work is unsurpassed (I Sam. 9-10; 20; II Sam. 24, in their present form, can hardly be intact); conversations and speeches are of course reported *ad sensum* rather than *verbatim* (cf. II Sam. 18, 5 12). The author is not only the true "father of history," but stands supreme among the writers of

¹ Modern research on Samuel begins with the commentary of Thenius (1842). A useful list of the most important publications is given by Ivar Hylander, *Der literarische Samuel-Saul-Komplex* (Dissertation), Uppsala, 1932; pp. 315-319. The following works should be added to that list: O. H. Boström, *Alternative Readings in the Hebrew of the Books of Samuel*, Rock Island, Ill., 1918. M. H. Segal, *Studies in the Books of Samuel*, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, Vols. V-X, 1914-1920. The *Introductions to the Old Testament* of S. R. Driver, J. A. Bewer, K. Budde, E. Sellin, G. F. Moore, Oosterley and Robinson (1934), and O. Eissfeldt (1934).

² Disregarding for the moment the glosses and restoring what seems to have been the original order of the chapters, I would assign to the original work the following sections: I Sam. 4, 1-7, 1; 9, 1-10, 16; 10, 27b-11, 11 15; 13, 2-7a 15b-18 23; 14, 1-46 52; 16, 14-23; 18, 6-9 20 22-29a; 19, 11-17; 20 (?); 21, 1-10; 22, 6-23; 23, 1 5-14a; 25, 2-44; 26; 27; 29; 30; 28; 31. II Sam. 1-5; 21, 15-22; 23, 8-39; 6; 24; 21, 1-14; 9-20. I Kings 1; 2, 13-46a. The references are given according to the versification of the Hebrew text, which differs from that of the English Bible in the following sections: I Sam. 19, 1b (Hebr.) = 19, 2a (Engl.); I Sam. 21, 1-16 (Hebr.) = 20, 42-21, 15 (Engl.); 24, 1-23 (Hebr.) = 23, 29-24, 22 (Engl.); II Sam. 19, 1-44 (Hebr.) = 18, 33-19, 43 (Engl.).

Hebrew prose: his expert use of syntax and of apposite idiomatic expressions, his classic style, combining nobility and simplicity, the vividness of his descriptions and characterizations, have seldom, if ever, been surpassed in the literature of mankind.³

During the course of two centuries (750–550 B.C.) this historical work, dating from the time of Solomon, was supplemented at various times with stories and speeches of diverse origin.⁴ This material lacks the dramatic unity, the genuine historicity, and the superb style of the earlier source: at its best (I Sam. 1: one of the few sections dated before 650 B.C.) it offers haggadic legends; at its worst it presents stories and speeches concocted to glorify Samuel and David and to vilify Eli and Saul. The monarchy is now regarded as an apostasy in its inception and as a curse in its later stages. As a whole this material marks the beginning of that historical midrash of which the Books of Chronicles, three or four centuries later, are the best example.

The Deuteronomic editors of the books from Genesis to Kings (ca. 550 B.C.) suppressed I Sam. 28 and the ancient parts of II Sam. 9–24; these sections were however inserted again into the book before the time of the Chronicler, who read them in their present incorrect place. Otherwise the Deuteronomic edition was perfunctory: it supplied chronological data,⁵ historical and

³ The first guess as to the identity of the author is that of I Chron. 29, 29, where the biography of David is attributed to Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (cf. H. M. Wiener, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1928, Sonderheft: the Books of Samuel are the combination of a Nathan and of a Gad source). Critical opinion oscillates between Abiathar (B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 3) and Ahimaaz (A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige*, 1887; p. xxxii f). II Sam. 15, 27–29; 17, 17–21 embody the reminiscences of Jonathan the son of Abiathar or of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, but only Ahimaaz could have originally related the incidents reported in 18, 19–32. The interest of the author in the vicissitudes of the ark of Shiloh (I Sam. 4–6; II Sam. 6), admitting that Zadok was the mysterious Ahio (see W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, p. 62), would be easily understood if Ahimaaz wrote the original Book of Samuel.

⁴ The following sections, which include some minor glosses to be discussed later, may be assigned to this secondary source: I Sam. 1; 2, 11–26; 3; 7, 3–17; 8; 10, 17–27a; 11, 12–13; 15; 17; 18, 1–6a 10–16 21 30; 19, 1–10 18–24; 21, 11–16; 22, 1–5; 23, 19–25, 1.

⁵ I Sam. 4, 15 18b; 7, 2; 27, 7; II Sam. 2, 10–11; 5, 4–5; I Ki. 2, 11. The chronology for Saul (I Sam. 13, 1) leaves the numbers blank and belongs to a later redaction; that of his son (II Sam. 2, 10) is patently wrong (cf. v. 11) and may likewise be a later gloss.

statistical summaries,⁶ and the last instructions of David to Solomon (I Ki. 2, 1-12).⁷

The canonization of the Pentateuch about 400 B.C. gave a fresh impulse to the study and annotation of the Books of Samuel, as also of the rest of the prophetic canon, closed about 200 B.C. The Jewish community in Jerusalem, restored by Nehemiah's zeal and reforms to vigorous life, found its inspiration in the glorious past of the nation, in the observance of the Law of Moses, and in the utopic vision of a future Davidic kingdom. Although this interest in history, law, and messianism appears conspicuously in the interpolations into the books of Samuel dating from these two centuries (400-200 B.C.), as notably in II Sam. 7, the chief result of the canonization of the Pentateuch was to place the study and meditation of a sacred book at the very center of religious life (Ps. 1). Education and piety became inseparable: the Synagogue was both a place of worship and a school, the interpretation of the Law and of other ancient books became the duty and the privilege not only of the professional scholars, but of every true Jew. Not only scribes, but ordinary readers as well, annotated their books to convince themselves that they really understood them: *Tenet insanabile multos Scribendi cacoethes*.⁸

This miscellaneous material that came into the text from the margins of manuscripts or was composed *ad hoc* (except for two Psalms taken from anthologies, I Sam. 2, 1-10; II Sam. 22 = Ps. 18) comprises the following sections:

I Sam. 1, 6 7 (כֵּן תִּכְעֶסְנָה) 9 (וְאַחֲרֵי שֵׁתָה) 11bβ 20 (וְתַהֲרֵ) 21 (חָנָה) (וְאֵת נִדְרֹו); 2, 1-10 (Psalm) [2, 2: כִּי אֵין בְּלֹתֶךָ] 17 (וַיִּקֶּם) 22b 23 (מִנְחָתָה) (אֱלֹהִים . . . אֱלֹהִים) 27-36; 3, 6 (וַיִּקֶּם) 13 (בְּעֵינֵי אִשָּׁר יִדְעֶ) (read: לָהֶם for אֱלֹהִים); 20-21; 4, 1a 4 (שָׁם . . .) 8 10 (30,000!) 11 (read: הָאֱלֹהִים; omit: Hophni and

⁶ I Sam. 14, 47-51; II Sam. 3, 2-5; 5, 13-16; 8. This last chapter marks the conclusion of the Deuteronomic book.

⁷ The Deuteronomists also added "of the covenant" to "ark" in I Sam. 4, 3-5; in II Sam. 15, 24 this addition is much later, as also the gloss "which dwelleth between the cherubim" in I Sam. 4, 4.

⁸ This naïve exegesis was, unwittingly, well characterized by an aunt of Adolf Harnack: when her learned nephew expressed surprise that her literary circle should be reading as difficult a book as that of Ezechiel, she promptly replied, "When we do not understand, we interpret."

Phineas) 17 (read: נלקח as in v.11; omit: Hophni and Phineas) 20b 21 (from לאמר to the end of the verse); 5, 5 6 (ואת־גבוליה) אלף איש) 9 (את־אשרוד 10ba; 6, 5a 6 11b 15 17–18 19 (ואת־הע־שתרת) 4 (והע־שתרות) 7, 3 (ויהי בעם . . . חמשים 15–17; 10, 8 9a 12 16b 18–19 22 (the second עוד) 23b; 11, 7 (ואחר) 8b 12 (add לא after שאול) 14 15 (שלמים); 12, 1–25 [12,11 (read שמשון instead of שמואל) 13 (אשר שאלתם) 21 (כי)]; 13, 1 3ba 4 (הגלגל) 5 (from שלשים to לרב) 7b–15a 19–22; 14, 3a 14a (הראשנה) 14b 18b (corrupt: see Arnold, Ephod and Ark, p. 16) 23 (read ער בית־חרון) 28 (last two words) 35b 41 (אל) 47 (read [LXX]וישע for ירשיע); 15, 4a (200,000!) 4b 20 (אשר) 23 (read און for ארון) 27–29; 16, 1–13 18a 19 (אשר בצאן); 17, 1 (אשר ליהודה) 12 (הזה) 13a (הלכו) 13b 15 23 (גלית הפלשתי שמו מנת) 38b 40 (אשר לו) 41 48b 52b 54; 18, 6 (from בשוב to הפלשתי) 12b16 (ויהודה) 17–19 21b 26b 27 (200!; (ובקיר) 29b–30; 19, 2–3 5a 7a 10 (וימלאום למלך); 20, 1a (אשר־הכית בעמק האלה) 10 (והוא דרך חל) 6 (ויבא) 40–42; 21, 6 (מלך הארץ) 12 (שמע שמע to the end) 11 (to בירו) 14a (יהוה אלהי ישראל; בירו) 14b–18 19 (from בנבעת to the end); 24, 14; 25, 3 (והוא) 27, 3b 6b 8b 11; 28, 3 17–18 19b; 29, 4 (the second פלשתים) 5; 30, 5 9b 14 (from ועל־אשר to כלב) 16 (ומארץ יהודה) 18b 19b 25 27–31; 31, 3 (אנשים בקשת) 4 (the second ודקרני) 6 (אנשי) 7 (אשר בעבר הירדן) 7 (אנשי) 9 (read לבשר את אלהיהם).

II Sam. 1, 1 (אחרי מות שאול) 2 (מעם שאול) 4 (וימתו) 6 (בלי) 8 18a (בני־יהודה) 18b 21 (המגיד לו) 2, 16b 23 (the second איש בשת) 14 15 (לאמר למי ארץ) 3, 6a 9–10 12 (מתו) 31 (וימת) 18b 22 (וישלל רב עמם הביאו and עבדי דוד) 30; 4, 2b–4 6 7 (to לאמר) 6 (ויהודה) 5 (1–2) 7 (from the second לאמר to the end) 8 (היא עיר דוד) 10 (אלהי) 11–12 20–24 (חרשה) 3 (the second ישב הכרבים; שם; ויקם) 6, 1 2 (כן) 4

(to בנבעה) 5 8-9 13 15 17 (ושלמים) 18 (והשלמים) 19 (from לכל to אשה) 21 (read נגליתי for שחקתי) 23; 7, 1-29; 8, 6b 11-12 14 (from ככל to נצבים) 17 (בן-אחיו) 9, 13b; 10, 6 (כל) 15-19a; 11, 9 (אלף איש ואיש טוב) 7 (הנברים) 8 (ואיש טוב) 9b-12 14 (את- אתה) 21 (as far as בתבן); 12, 7b-8 9a (דבר) 9b-12 14 (ויברח אבשלום) 34 (בני-המלך) 18a 32 (משרתו) 13, 17 (אני) 37b-38; 14, 14 (beginning with וחשב) 26a (from והיה to יגלח) 26b (200!) 27 (?) 28b; 15, 7 (read 4 for 40) 24 (וכל-הלויים אתו) transpose ויעל אביתר [jussive] after בשלום in v. 27) 25-26; 16, 13 (last three words) 15 (העם) 18 (וכל-איש ישראל) 23; 17, 14b 25b; 18, 15 18 29 (את-עבר המלך) (read את for ואת) 31 (the second הכושי); 19, 5 (the second המלך) 12b (אל-ביתו) 37 (את- אתה) 41 (beginning with וגם) 42 (beginning with וכל); 20, 23-25 (=8, 16-18); 21, 2b 3 (to הנבענים) 7 9 (from תחלת to the end) 15 (עוד) 19 (the first ארנים); 22, 1-51 (=Ps.18); 23, 1-7 (Psalm) 13b-14a; 24, 1a 9 (800,000 and 500,000!) 11a 11b (הנביא) 13 (read 3 for 7) 15 (70,000!) 25 (ושלמים) [24, 10-19 represent a midrashic rewriting of the old source]. I Kings 2, 24 27b.⁹

For the most part this miscellaneous midrash seems to belong to the period 400-200 B.C., although some may date from the preceding century and some is demonstrably later. About 250 B.C. the Chronicler found most of this midrash in his book of Samuel, but some deliberate textual changes¹⁰ and some glosses¹¹

⁹ Neither textual corruptions of accidental origin have been considered in this list, nor the deliberate change of ארון (ark) to אפוד (ephod) in I Sam. 2, 28; 14, 3; 21, 10; 22, 18; 23, 6 9; 30, 7 (and 14, 18 in the LXX) which has been proved by W. R. Arnold in his monograph *Ephod and Ark*. Minor changes like the substitution of "bosheth" for "baal," and of "Assyria" for "Asher" (II Sam. 2, 9) will be mentioned later.

¹⁰ The change of "their gods" to "their idols" was made before the time of the Chronicler in I Sam. 31, 9 (cf. I Chron. 10, 9), but after his time in II Sam. 5, 21 (cf. I Chron. 14, 12). The Chronicler still uses Esh-Baal and Merib-Baal, whereas Samuel has Ish-bosheth (Ishwi = 'Ish-Yahweh in I Sam. 14, 49) and Mephi-bosheth (the emendation was overlooked only in I Sam. 12, 11, where we read Jerubbaal; contrast II Sam. 11, 21). The reading "for me" (I Chron. 17, 12) is earlier than "for my name" (II Sam. 7, 13).

¹¹ The text of Samuel contains glosses lacking in Chronicles in: I Sam. 31, 7 (cf. I Chron. 10, 7); II Sam. 5, 10 (cf. I Chron. 11, 9); 10, 6 (cf. I Chr. 19, 7); 24, 11a (I Chr. 21, 9).

are still unknown to the Chronicler. Although the LXX version has midrashic additions lacking in the Masoretic text, at times it has a considerably shorter text, as in I Sam. 17-18, where it omits, *inter alia*, some glosses found in the Hebrew. The so-called Lucianic recension of the LXX, (published by Lagarde) followed by the *Vetus Latina*, is not seldom translated from a purer and earlier text than our Masoretic text. Even such comparatively late versions as the Targum (for which see I Sam. 11, 12; II Sam. 1, 21) and the Syriac (for which see I Sam. 2, 17) bear witness to a Hebrew text that, in these passages, had not yet been subjected to wilful changes.

The authors of the midrash in Samuel share with the Chronicler an utterly imaginary picture of the time of David, but they are decidedly inferior to him from the point of view of style and thought. Although his style cannot compare with that of the original source of Samuel (contrast II Sam. 24, 3 with I Chron. 21, 3), the Chronicler can express himself concisely, clearly, and even with imaginative touches.¹² When confronted with the wretched grammar and dreary style of II Sam. 7, the Chronicler is impelled to make some improvements.¹³ Whatever may be our opinion of the Chronicler as an historian, his importance as the first apologist of Judaism cannot be gainsaid. He boldly sets out to prove, against the claims of the heathens and of the Samaritans, that the temple at Jerusalem is the religious center of mankind. Negatively he argues that the Judeans left in their country by Nebuchadnezzar and especially the Samaritans are racially and religiously impure—a miscellaneous heathen mob from which the true Israel must keep itself strictly aloof. Positively he magnifies the past glory of the kingdom of Judah beyond the grasp of the most vivid imagination; he exalts the Temple as the abode of the only true God, commending its worship as the only legitimate one and its priests and Levites as the heirs of sacred orders reaching back, through an unimpeachable succession, to a dim antiquity.

In glorifying the kingdom of David the Chronicler calmly states that this king commanded an army of more than one million and a half men and that he set aside more than three

¹² I Chron. 11, 23 (cf. II Sam. 23, 21); 12, 9 16 17-19; etc.

¹³ Cf., e.g., II Sam. 7, 6 11 13 14-15 23 27 with I Chron. 17, 5 10 12-13 21 25.

billion gold dollars for the building of the temple!¹⁴ In the glosses in Samuel the figures have not yet reached these imposing totals, but are rather impressive nevertheless. Seventy men died at Beth Shemesh through the plague, but a glossator gratuitously adds 50,000 to this number (I Sam. 6, 19); 30,000 other Israelites fell, if we believe the midrash, in the battle of Aphek (4, 10). Saul mustered 330,000 soldiers according to 11, 8b,¹⁵ and 200,000 on a later occasion (15, 4a).¹⁶ The forces of the Philistines at the battle of Michmash comprised no less than 30,000 (LXX: 3,000) chariots, 6,000 horses, and innumerable foot soldiers (13, 5). To bring the ark to Jerusalem, David called out 30,000 chosen men (LXX B: 70,000), according to II Sam. 6, 1. The thousand men and the men of Tob (10, 6) were not yet included in the Aramean forces hired by the Ammonites when I Chron. 19, 7 was written; among these Arameans David is said to have slain "700 chariots (sic!) and 40,000 horses" (10, 18).¹⁷ Joab's census discloses that the army of David numbered no less than 800,000 men of Israel and 500,000 men of Judah;¹⁸ in the plague that followed the census 70,000 men are said to have died (II Sam. 24, 15; I Chron. 21, 14).

Aside from these absurdly fantastic figures, the midrash has the tendency to exaggerate the importance of certain incidents. The Philistines did not send with the ark merely five golden mice (I Sam. 6, 4 11) but as many as there were cities and villages in

¹⁴ I Chron. 21, 5-6; 22, 14; 29, 3-4 7-8.

¹⁵ The LXX raises the figure to 670,000 and Josephus (Ant. VI, 78) to 770,000. According to the old records (I Sam. 13, 2), Saul's army numbered 3,000.

¹⁶ 400,000 according to LXX B; only 10,000 according to LXX A. A gloss in 15, 4b, which is lacking in the Lucian-Lagarde LXX, adds 10,000 men of Judah (LXX B; 30,000; LXX A; 10,000).

¹⁷ The glossator, whose knowledge of Hebrew was deficient, meant to say "700 charioteers and 40,000 horsemen." According to I Chron. 19, 18 the figures are 7,000 chariots and 40,000 foot soldiers. The Deuteronomist in II Sam. 8, 4 gives 1,700 horses (an error for 1,000 chariots and 700 horses) and 20,000 foot soldiers (LXX and I Chron. 18, 4: 1,000 chariots, 7,000 horses, and 20,000 foot soldiers).

¹⁸ II Sam. 24, 9. In I Chron. 21, 5 the figures become 1,100,000 men of Israel and 470,000 men of Judah (although the Arabic version in Walton's Polyglot retains the figures of Sam. in I Chron. 21, 5). LXX Lucian-Lagarde (II Sam. 24, 9) and Josephus (Ant. VII, 320) give 900,000 men to Israel and 400,000 to Judah, obtaining the same total as the Masoretic text.

all Philistia (6, 17-18). The Israelites had neither weapons nor smiths in the time of Saul (13, 19-22). Doeg slew not only the priests of Nob, but also all of the inhabitants of the town, including infants, and all domestic animals (22, 19). Not only an army of 30,000, as we have seen, but "the whole house of Israel," "the whole multitude of Israel, both men and women" (II Sam. 6, 5 15 19b) joined David in transporting the ark to Jerusalem; according to this fanciful glossator, an ox and a fatling were sacrificed every six steps of the way (6, 13).¹⁹

The historical midrash is absurd in other ways as well. It contains glaring anachronisms, such as the assertions that David took the head of Goliath to Jerusalem, which was still a Jebusite stronghold (I Sam. 17, 54) and that Hiram built David a house (II Sam. 5, 11). The midrash is often proved false by more credible statements elsewhere in Samuel.²⁰ It is characteristic of midrashic literature in general to supply picturesque details, which are wholly fictitious, to enhance the appearance of historicity (in this and in other respects the Fourth Gospel may be regarded as a midrash to the Synoptics): such irrelevant or circumstantial details are common in the midrash of Samuel.²¹

The biographical accounts of the chief characters are retouched in the midrash so that they may illustrate the doctrine that success is evidence of divine favor, and vice versa. Hophni and

¹⁹ It is obviously grossly exaggerated to say that *all* Saul's men died at the battle of Gilboa (I Sam. 31, 6; contrast v. 7) and that the men across the Jordan fled at the news of that defeat (31, 7; contrast I Chron 10, 7). "All" in II Sam. 11, 9 is a foolish gloss.

²⁰ I Sam. 4, 20b (contrast vv. 21-22); 17, 12 (David had seven brothers; according to 16,10 and I Chron. 2, 13-15 he had six); 18, 21b (contrast v. 22); II Sam. 18, 18 (contrast 14, 27 and I Kings 15, 2). The last thing David would have thought of doing, while he was dealing secretly with Abner, was to send an official embassy to Ishbaal (II Sam. 3, 14; in 3, 15 "Ishbosheth" is a gloss).

²¹ I Sam. 1, 6; 1, 7 ("and so she provoked her"); 1, 9 ("and after they had drunk" a clause lacking in the LXX); 11, 14b (different in the LXX); 17, 41 48b 52b; II Sam. 3, 22 ("the servants of David and;" "and much spoil they brought with them"); 4, 4 (based on 19, 27 [Engl. 26]; cf. 9, 13); 4, 6-7aα (the LXX has additional details); 14, 26aβ; 16, 13 ("and cast dust"); 18, 15; 19, 41 [Engl. 40] ("and also half of the people of Israel"); 24, 11a (omitted in I Chron. 21, 9). The account of the relations between Jonathan and David is embellished with fanciful stories (I Sam. 20, 40-42; 23, 14b-19). The genealogies in I Sam. 14, 3a and II Sam. 17, 25b are spurious.

Phineas, who died heroically in battle, become vile scoundrels (I Sam. 2, 22b). The unfortunate Saul is not regarded as the legitimate king.²² Conversely Samuel, a village seer according to the old source, is elevated to the position of vicar of God on earth: he becomes a Nazirite in his childhood (I Sam. 1, 11b β ; in the LXX likewise in 1, 22 27), a great prophet (3, 20-21; 4, 1a; 9, 15-17; cf. 9, 9), and the judge of all Israel,²³ before whom the people (12, 18) and the elders (16, 4) stand in fear and trembling. As for David, who rose to eminence through his wits and through fortunate circumstances, he becomes in this midrash, as in Chronicles, the national hero sans peur et sans reproche. Chosen by Jehovah (I Sam. 13, 14; cf. 15, 28) and anointed as king in his childhood (16, 1-13: his brothers, who witnessed the scene, knew nothing about it according to 17, 28),²⁴ he is celebrated for his qualities (16, 18a β b) and for his piety (II Sam. 8, 11-12; 15, 25-26). His deeds of valor are magnified,²⁵ he rules over the Assyrians (II Sam. 2, 9; contrast the ancient versions), and he is the object of the divine favor (I Sam. 18, 12b; II Sam. 5, 10-12; 12, 7b-8). David is now "the sweet psalmist of Israel" (23, 1) and two late psalms are attributed to him (II Sam. 22 [Ps. 18] and 23, 1-7 [cf. Ps. 89]). Divine promises foretell David's

²² Saul was deposed by Samuel (I Sam. 13, 7b-15a; cf. 18, 12b; 28, 17-18; II Sam. 7, 15); by adding "not" (which is lacking in the Syriac, in the Targum, and in the Arabic), II Sam. 1, 21 is made to read, "... Saul, *not* anointed with oil." The omission of "not" in I Sam. 11, 12 (contrast the LXX, the Syriac, and the Targum), the change of "he was delivered" (LXX) into "he acted impiously" (14, 47), and the insertion of stories like that of 18, 17-19, are dictated by spite against Saul, the chronology of whose reign was deliberately left blank (13, 1). Even his daughter Michal evokes the *Schadenfreude* of a malicious reader (II Sam. 6, 23).

²³ Although I Sam. 7, 2-17 may have stood in the secondary source, it is certainly later than the publication of Deuteronomy and has midrashic retouches. In 11, 7 "and after Samuel" is a gloss; "Saul" was changed to "Samuel" in 11, 13 in some texts of the LXX (cf. the LXX in 11, 12-15 in general); "Samson" was changed to "Samuel" in 12, 11 (contrast LXX Lucian-Lagarde and the Syriac); in 12, 13 "whom you asked for" is a gloss to "whom you have chosen."

²⁴ He is called "the king of the land" before Saul's and Ishbaal's death in I Sam. 21, 12 (cf. II Sam. 3, 12).

²⁵ In I Sam. 18, 26 "the time had not expired" (lacking in LXX B) is a gloss; in 18, 27 the hundred Philistines killed by David (cf. II Sam. 3, 14) are doubled (contrast the LXX). Joab's victory over the Arameans is attributed to David (II Sam. 10, 15-19a).

achievements, which are ordained by Jehovah (I Sam. 13, 14; 25, 28-31; 28, 17-18; II Sam. 3, 9-10 18b; 5, 2; cf. 7, 8; 8, 6b), and the eternity of his dynasty (II Sam. 7; 23, 1-7, cf. Ps. 89; I Kings 2, 24).²⁶

The religion disclosed in the midrash is totally different from that of the original source of Samuel. After 400 B.C. the Pentateuch became the standard of belief and practice; as might be expected, it is quoted or referred to in the midrash of Samuel.²⁷ Jehovah is now the sole god in existence (I Sam. 2, 2; II Sam. 7, 22; 22, 32); his glorious deeds in nature and in history are praised in two late psalms inserted in Samuel (I Sam. 2, 1-10; II Sam. 22). God no longer repents of his actions (I Sam. 15, 29; contrast v. 35); He rewards and punishes men in this life (II Sam. 12, 10-12; 17, 14b). Non-Jews are considered idolaters, idolatry becomes an obsession.²⁸ Prophecy has been extinct so long that it is identified with foretelling²⁹ and the prophet is sometimes confused with the clairvoyant (I Sam. 9, 9) and the prognosticator (II Sam. 24, 11).³⁰ The views on the priesthood, based on the Priestly Code, are set forth in I Sam. 2, 27-36: all priests are sons of Aaron (v. 27) and their chief function is sacrifice (v. 28); all the priests named in Samuel except Zadok, contrary to the evidence of the ancient sources, are regarded as descendants of Eli (v. 27), whose line however was exterminated with the exception of one man (Abiathar, v. 33). A faithful priest (Zadok) will be raised up in the place of the house of Eli and his descend-

²⁶ The glorification of David is related to the partiality shown to Judah, which played no historical rôle before David. As in the book of Hosea, the mention of Judah is often added irrelevantly: I Sam. 15, 4b; 17, 52a; 18, 16; 30, 14 16; II Sam. 1, 18; 5, 5; 11, 11; 21, 2b; see also I Sam. 11, 8b; 15, 4b; 27, 6b; II Sam. 12, 8. The unflattering mention of Judah in II Sam. 3, 8 is omitted in the LXX.

²⁷ I Sam. 2, 22b 27-28; 4, 8; 6, 6; 10, 18-19; 12, 8; 15, 29 (cf. Num. 23, 19). The book of Judges is referred to in I Sam. 12, 9-11; II Sam. 11, 21a.

²⁸ I Sam. 4, 8; 12, 10 21; 13, 5; 14, 23; II Sam. 5, 21. Astarte figurines are added in I Sam. 7, 3 4.

²⁹ The spurious prophetic oracles contained in the midrash predict, post eventum, what will take place in the future (I Sam. 2, 27-36; 22, 5; II Sam. 7; 12, 7b-12; 24, 10-14; cf. I Sam. 28, 17-18) and even hint obscurely at the coming Messianic king (II Sam. 7).

³⁰ The Chronicler (I 25, 1-3) identifies prophets and musicians; the Targum (I Sam. 10, 5 11) thinks of the ancient prophets as scribes.

ants will officiate (at Jerusalem) forever; the descendants of Eli will beg a morsel of bread from the Zadokites (vv. 35-36; I Kings 2, 27b).³¹ The Levites are mentioned twice in the midrash as bearers of the ark (I Sam. 6, 15; II Sam. 15, 24), thus bringing the ancient narratives into harmony with the priestly laws (Num. 3, 31; 4, 15; Deut. 10, 8; cf. I Chron. 15, 2). Spurious priestly oracles are added (I Sam. 23, 2-4; II Sam. 5, 22-24), a genuine one is expanded (I Sam. 23, 10a β b-11a α). The term "peace offerings" (*shelamim*), a favorite expression in the Priestly Code, is added to other terms for sacrifice in I Sam. 11, 15; 13, 9; II Sam. 6, 17 18; 24, 25 (cf. I Sam. 10, 8, which is a gloss); the term "whole offering" (*kalil*) has been added in I Sam. 7, 9. In the vein of the Chronicler, the performance of orchestral music is added to the account of the transportation of the ark to Jerusalem (II Sam. 6, 5 15).

In a number of instances the text of Samuel was deliberately altered for dogmatic reasons. The changes of "ark" into "ephod," of "Baal" into "bosheth" (shame), and of "gods" into "idols" have already been mentioned.³² Expressions considered blasphemous were eliminated either by the addition of a word³³ or by wilful corruption.³⁴

³¹ Through a faked genealogy, Ahijah is connected with the priestly family of Nob and the latter with the line of Eli (I Sam. 14, 3a). The absurd connection of Zadok with the priests of Nob in II Sam. 8, 17 is merely the result of wrongly inserted marginal glosses and of the ensuing textual corruption (the original text occurs in II Sam. 20, 25); nevertheless this corrupt text furnished the Chronicler (I 6, 8) with a welcome family tree of the historical ancestor of the priests of Jerusalem. The omission of Abiathar by the side of Zadok in II Sam. 15, 24 27 seems to have been deliberate (cf. the gloss 15, 25).

³² See notes 9 and 10. In I Sam. 22, 18 "linen" (*bad*) was added to "ephod"; LXX B omits the "ark" in 21, 10; 30, 7; in 15, 23 "ark" has been changed into "iniquity" (*awen*); Beth-Awen in 13, 5 probably stands for Beth-Horon (LXX Lucian-Lagarde). The word בִּזְרִים (boils), used in the glosses I Sam. 6, 11b 17, was substituted in the reading of I Sam. 5, 6 9 12; 6, 4 5 (and Deut. 28, 27) for the more vulgar word עֲפָלִים. For other minor corrections see I Sam. 4, 11 17; 14, 41 in the general list above.

³³ "The offering" (I Sam. 2, 17; cf. the Syriac and Num. 16, 30); "the word" (II Sam. 12, 9); "the enemies" (12, 14; cf. I Sam. 25, 22).

³⁴ The original text of I Sam. 3, 13 (cf. LXX) read, "for his sons were cursing the deity": "the deity" (*elohim*) was corrupted to "to them" (*lahem*) and, in addition, a substitute for public reading was provided ("for the iniquity which

A third type of midrash, in addition to the historical and the religious, may be called exegetical. Some explanatory glosses are the contribution of professional scholars, who are probably responsible for a considerable part of the midrash already considered, but many glosses, that contribute nothing to a perfectly lucid text, flow freely from the pen of readers whose piety is greater than their learning.

Seven glosses³⁵ appeal (speciously) to contemporary evidence by using the expression "unto this day" and thus disclose the fact that they were written a considerable time after the events narrated (the mention of "kings of Judah" in I Sam. 27, 6b cannot be earlier than the division of the kingdom). These and other learned glosses explain the origin of geographical names (I Sam. 7, 12; II Sam. 2, 16b; 5, 20; 6, 8), of proverbs (I Sam. 10, 12 [based on 19, 24b]; 24, 14; II Sam. 5, 8b), of laws (I Sam. 30, 25), and of customs (5, 5); they describe the dress of princesses for readers living long after the end of the monarchy (II Sam. 13, 18a); they supply historical, geographical, and topographical information.³⁶

The notes explaining individual words are either erroneous or superfluous. As we have seen, the clairvoyant (I Sam. 9, 9) and the prognosticator (24, 11) are mistakenly identified with the prophet; likewise the "host," composed of able bodied civilians, is erroneously confused with the "heroes" (*gibborim*), a small standing army of mercenary troops (II Sam. 10, 7); the glossator who added "that mar your land" in I Sam. 6, 5 failed to perceive the close connection, well understood by the Philistines, between mice and pestilence. The explanation of the mysterious "*yalqut*" (17, 40) as "the shepherd's thing which he had" is a pure guess—and not illuminating at that. When the subject of a verb,

he knows;" in the LXX: "for the iniquity of his sons;" in the Syriac: "namely that these sons of his dishonored the people"). In II Sam. 6, 21 the original text "I have exposed myself before the Lord" was corrupted by the omission of "I have exposed myself;" "I have danced before the Lord" is a surrogate from the margin.

³⁵ I Sam. 5, 5; 6, 18; 27, 6b; 30, 25; II Sam. 4, 3; 6, 8; 18, 18.

³⁶ I Sam. 6, 17; 17, 1 ("which belongs to Judah"); 25, 3 ("and he was a Calebite"); 27, 6b 8b; 30, 27-31; II Sam. 4, 2b-3; 21, 2b. According to the gloss in II Sam. 1, 18b, David's elegy over Saul and Jonathan was "written in the Book of Poetry" (reading שיר for שר').

owing to the absence of the *matres lectionis*, was ambiguous, not seldom the subject supplied is not the same in the Hebrew and in the LXX; the explicitum is often false in either or both texts.³⁷ Even when the text is perfectly lucid, inane explanations³⁸ and tautological specifications³⁹ are added to the detriment of the style; in some cases such marginal glosses have wrought havoc with the syntax.⁴⁰

The most useless type of midrash is that which merely repeats, more or less verbatim, the words of the text. In some cases such glosses anticipate prematurely some incident in the story,⁴¹ in others they repeat it.⁴² Even single words are erroneously

³⁷ S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Books of Samuel*. 2nd Edit. Oxford, 1913. P. lxii f.

³⁸ "These wicked things of yours" (I Sam. 2, 23; this gloss is ungrammatical in the Hebrew); "Hophni and Phineas" (4, 11 17); "Ashdod and its borders" (5, 6); the names of David's wives (27, 3b; 30, 5 18b); "men with the bow" explaining "archers" (31, 3); "from Saul" (II Sam. 1, 2); "to die" explains "to fall (in battle)" (1, 4; 2, 23; cf. 2, 31); "the inhabitants of the land" (5, 6); "the same is the city of David" (5, 7); "his servant" explaining "his boy" (13, 17); "the sons of the king" explaining "the young men" (13, 32); "the people" explaining "the men of Israel" (16, 15); "all the men of Israel" explaining "this people" (16, 18).

³⁹ "And Hannah conceived" (I Sam. 1, 20); "and he arose" (3, 6); 6, 11b; "that which Samuel had said" (10, 16b); "first" (14, 14); 17, 13b; "and it was a profane undertaking" (21, 6; Engl. 5); "where Saul had pitched, and David saw the place" (26, 5); "that told him" (II Sam. 1, 6); "and all David's men with him" (19, 42). The gloss "and his vow" in I Sam. 1, 21 is pure nonsense.

⁴⁰ "There" (I Sam. 4, 4); "the hand of Jehovah" (5, 9); "man" (9, 1b); the first "him" (9, 13b); the second "again" (10, 22); "for" (12, 21); "which" (15, 20); "this" (17, 12); "they went" (17, 13); "so" (II Sam. 5, 25); "new" (6, 3b); "again" (21, 15).

⁴¹ I Sam. 4, 21aβb (cf. 22); 9, 2b (cf. 10, 23); 10, 9 (cf. v. 10); 13, 3 (cf. 4b); 14, 28 (cf. 31); 18, 12b (cf. 14); 19, 2-3 (cf. ch. 20); 23, 22 (cf. 23); 30, 9 (cf. 10); II Sam. 1, 8 (cf. 9 13); 5, 1-2 (cf. 3); 6, 5 (cf. 14); 9, 13b (cf. 19, 27 and 4, 4); 13, 34 (cf. 37 38).

⁴² I Sam. 6, 11b (cf. 8); 10, 23 (cf. 9, 2b); 15, 27-29 (cf. 20-26); 17, 23 (cf. 4); 17, 38b (cf. 38a); 27, 11 (cf. 9-10); 28, 3a (cf. 25, 1); 28, 19b (cf. 19a); II Sam. 5, 6b ("saying, David shall not come hither"); 5, 8 (cf. 6); 6, 4 (cf. 3); 6, 9 (cf. 8); 9, 13a (11b); 12, 9b (cf. 9a); 13, 37b-38 (cf. 37a 39); 14, 28b (cf. 24); 19, 12b (cf. 12a); 19, 37 ("the Jordan" is a gloss due to v. 32); 21, 9bβ (cf. 10). The names of David's brothers in I Sam. 16, 6-9 are taken from 17, 13b (only the names of the three oldest are given); 25, 44 is concocted out of II Sam. 3, 15 and Is. 10, 30.

repeated within a verse,⁴³ usually to the detriment of the clarity of expression.

An attempt was made to eliminate some of the most glaring contradictions and inconsistencies, produced by the addition of incongruous narrative material to the original history, by means of harmonistic and transitional glosses. The glosses I Sam. 10, 8 and 11, 14 (cf. 12, 12) represent unsuccessful efforts to reconcile the historical coronation of Saul at Gilgal (11, 15) with the imaginary selection of Saul as king by Samuel (10, 17-27); likewise the gloss "to Gilgal" in 13, 4 prepares for the interpolation 13, 7b-15a. For harmonistic purposes David is called prematurely a military hero in 16, 18; the phrase "who is with the sheep" (16, 19) and 17, 15 were added to bring 16, 14-23 into precarious accord with 16, 11 and 17, 17 ff. respectively; 17, 12 is a similar attempt to reconcile the conflicting accounts in chapters 16 and 17; and finally allusions to David's slaying of Goliath were introduced surreptitiously into the old source (parts of 18, 6a and 21, 10 [Engl. 9]).⁴⁴ Other glosses merely mark the transition between unrelated narratives.⁴⁵

Finally, when a reader reached the end of a particularly striking story, he felt impelled to add his own reflections on the matter or a concluding summary: see I Sam. 14, 35b; 17, 50; 18, 29b-30; II Sam. 3, 30; 16, 23; 17, 14b.

It is clear from this rapid survey that the midrash in Samuel can contribute nothing to our understanding of the ancient history and literature of Israel,—i.e. nothing but misconceptions and blunders. Its value for us consists chiefly in the information that it furnishes on the early stages of Biblical learning and interpretation.

⁴³ I Sam. 9, 13; 19, 10 (the first "to the wall"); 29, 4; 31, 4 (the second "and thrust me through"); II Sam. 8, 14; 18, 29 31; 19, 5; 21, 19.

⁴⁴ Other harmonistic glosses: "In the wilderness of Ziph" (I Sam. 23, 14); "in the hill of Hachilah which is on the south of Jeshimon" (23, 19; cf. 26, 1 and 23, 24); 28, 3; II Sam. 4, 4 (cf. 9, 3); 21, 7; 23, 13b-14a (based on 5, 17b-18).

⁴⁵ I Sam. 5, 10ba (lacking in the Syriac); 19, 7a; 20, 1aa; II Sam. 1, 1 ("after the death of Saul"); 3, 6a (required by the insertion of vv. 2-5); 21, 3 (added after the insertion of v. 2); 21, 15; 24, 1a (inserted after 21, 1-14, which originally followed ch. 24, was placed before it).

Χριστός

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In the translation Greek of the Bible, *χριστός* is the rendering of either Hebrew *מָשִׁיחַ* or Aramaic *מְשִׁיחָא*, "anointed." In the translated documents of the New Testament the word is all but invariably an appellative, the title of *the Anointed One*, the "Messiah," the Deliverer of Israel, whose advent, long foretold and awaited, had at length been realized in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.¹ The Gospels were compiled with the one definite aim of proving that the Nazarene is the Messiah of Hebrew scripture and Jewish faith, and they contain only such material as immediately serves this purpose. The Fourth Gospel states the fact concisely and distinctly (Jn. xx. 31), and it is everywhere obvious. They are, throughout, carefully prepared propaganda, addressed to the Jewish people and designed to convince them. This applies to the Third Gospel as well as to the others, for Luke's material is all Jewish and Semitic, by him merely arranged and rendered into Greek.

Proof of Messiahship was proof of divinity; for several centuries past it had been the accepted doctrine that the coming Leader was a pre-existent divine being, held in reserve for the time when he should be incarnated in a descendant of David. And in fact, it is only in the *divine* Jesus that the Four Gospels are interested, only the qualities of a superhuman being that they intend to portray. "Anointed" is one of several descriptive titles that had long been in use as applied to the god-man of Hebrew theology: King, Servant, Son of God, Son of Man, Elect, Just, Holy One of God, Savior; all these taken directly from passages in the Old Testament which were traditionally interpreted as Messianic.

¹ As to the Jewish hope of a coming champion and deliverer, and the principal "Messianic" passages in the Old Testament, matters in regard to which the current views have (as I think) been greatly in need of revision, I may refer to my recently published volume, *Our Translated Gospels*, Harper and Brothers, 1936.

The Greek term for "Messiah" is therefore ordinarily determined by the definite article, ὁ χριστός (Aramaic מָשִׁיחַ), or occasionally by an accompanying noun or pronoun in the genitive case. Thus, in the Hebrew document rendered by Luke in the first two chapters of his Gospel, ii. 26, ὁ χριστὸς κυρίου (מָשִׁיחַ יְהוָה). The same phrase, with omission of the article, as very commonly in translation Greek, is to be seen in ii. 11, according to the probable emendation adopted by many exegetes. The reading of our Greek mss. here is χριστὸς κύριος.² This is hardly Luke's mistranslation, but rather an alteration of the original Greek reading. The very same corruption is to be found in the Greek of Lam. iv. 20 and Ps. Sol. xvii. 36 (cf. xviii. 6, 8!). The strong probability is that in all these cases the alteration was made, whether deliberately or accidentally, by Christian copyists.

Other examples of this nature: ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (מָשִׁיחַ אֱלֹהִים) Lk. ix. 20, xxiii. 35, cf. Acts ii. 36, Rev. xii. 10: ὁ χριστὸς αὐτοῦ (מָשִׁיחַ), Rev. xi. 15, xii. 10, Acts iv. 26 (in a quotation). These and other similar phrases were familiar from the Old Testament, and probably had been widely current in both literary and popular usage. Dalman, l. c., arguing from the well known tendency of the later Jewish writers to avoid using the words "God" and "Lord," thinks that the expressions "Anointed of the Lord" and "Anointed of God" "würde nicht der gewöhnlichen Redeweise des Volkes entsprechen," and consequently, that a Semitic original is not to be supposed in such cases.

We know, however, very little indeed as to the extent of this tendency in the first century and the formulas of the Talmud can give us no help whatever. In general, we have no other testimony as to the popular speech in Palestine at this time at all comparable to that furnished by our Gospels. Moreover, it would hardly be safe to appeal to the *ordinary* "mode of speech," even if we knew what it was; for we have abundant evidence that the Nazarenes retained in their writings as far as practicable the flavor of sacred scripture, which the rabbinical writers especially sought to avoid. And aside from any question as to the original words of Peter's

² Gustaf Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 249, retains the traditional text, and has a curious way of explaining it. Theophilus, he thinks, would not understand the word χριστός (though according to Luke he had been "instructed in these things"), and therefore Luke would explain it to him by appending the word κύριος.

alleged confession of Jesus as the Messiah (which is the subject of Dalman's discussion here), it may be supposed that the author of the Aramaic text rendered here in the Third Gospel was as good an exponent of Palestinian modes of thought and speech as was the author of Mark.

In several passages in the Gospels *ὁ χριστός* is joined to, or interchanged with other Messianic titles. Thus Jn. xi. 27, xx. 31, *ὁ χριστός ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, rendering מְשִׁיחָא בֶר אֱלֹהֵא; Mt. xvi. 16 (parallel to Mk. viii. 29, Lk. ix. 20), *ὁ χριστός ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος* (חַיָּא מ. ב. א.); Mk. xiv. 61, *ὁ χριστός ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ* (מ. בְּרַחֲמֵי דִי מְבָרְכָא). In Lk. iv. 41 (cf. Mk. iii. 11) *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* is immediately after, in the same verse, interpreted by *ὁ χριστός*. Mk. xv. 32 has *ὁ χριστός ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ* (מְשִׁיחָא מַלְכֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל), while in the parallel passages Mt. xxvii. 42 omits *ὁ χριστός*, and Lk. xxiii. 35 has *ὁ χριστός τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός* (מְשִׁיחָא אֱלֹהֵא בְּחִירָא), (cf. Is. xlii. 1). Jn. xii. 34 equates *ὁ χριστός* with *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (בֶּר אָנְשָׁא).

In the native Semitic speech of Bible times "Messiah" was not used by the Jews as a proper name. The fact has been remarked by several scholars, most recently by Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, pp. 239 ff.), that in the rabbinical writings of a later day, and especially in the Babylonian Talmud, the word, whether Hebrew or Aramaic, is not infrequently used as a quasi proper name, with omission of the article or the determinative ending. There is no uniform practice, however, but merely a loose and haphazard alternation. For instance, in Bab. Sanh. מְשִׁיחָא is found in 51 b (as often elsewhere), מְשִׁיחָא in 93 b; Heb. מְשִׁיחָא, alone, in other passages; שְׁנֵי מְשִׁיחָא "the years of the M.," 98 b; יְמֹת הַמְּשִׁיחָא "the days of the M.," 97 a, 99 a; חֲבִלָּה דְּמְשִׁיחָא, "the woes of the M.," Keth. 111 a; חֲבִלּוֹ שְׁלֹמֹמְשִׁיחָא, Sanh. 98 b, Sabb. 118 a; both forms, determined and undetermined, sometimes appearing on the same page. There is neither evidence nor likelihood of any older usage of the sort. So Dalman also concludes.

We should therefore not expect to find *χριστός* employed thus in translation Greek. In the Greek-speaking church, however, *χριστός* came very early into use as a proper name, either with or without the article and also in the frequent combination Ἰησοῦς *χριστός* and

the less frequent *χριστός* 'Ιησοῦς. The question arises, whether the influence of this tendency to create a proper name may not be seen even in the primitive translated documents. In *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I, 367, note 2, it is stated that "in Acts ii. 38, iii. 6, iv. 10, ix. 34, x. 48, xi. 17, and xv. 26 *χριστός* is used as a proper name."³ In no one of the seven passages named is this true (see below). They all represent the same usage as that which appears in the Four Gospels.

χριστός alone without the article is found in two passages in the Synoptic Gospels, Mk. ix. 41, Lk. xxiii. 2; and three times in John, i. 41, iv. 25 and ix. 22. In Jn. i. 41 and iv. 25 the word is merely given as the Greek rendering of the Aramaic מְשִׁיחָא, transliterated *Messias*, and is therefore obviously not to be regarded as a proper name. In i. 41 the original had simply מְשִׁיחָא מְבָרַךְ, "We have found the Messiah." The translator retained the important word, in transliteration, "*Messias*," and added its rendering: "that is, in Greek, *χριστός*." iv. 25, where δ λεγόμενος *χριστός* is the translator's addition, is another case of the same kind. The original Aramaic text had simply מְשִׁיחָא, with the determinative ending, and the translator explained that this, which he transliterated, is the Aramaic word corresponding to the Greek *χριστός*. Similarly in i. 42 Jesus gives to Simon the surname כְּהָנָן, *Kephâs*, and the translator adds: "which rendered into Greek means *rock*"; and in verse 38 he had just interpreted the term רַבִּי, *Rabbi*.⁴

In ix. 22 the passage in question reads: ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσῃ *χριστὸν* κ.τ.λ., "If any one should acknowledge him as *Messiah*"; that is, the word is here also an appellative, not a proper name; cf. Acts ii. 36 and v. 42.

In Luke xxiii. 2, τοῦτον εὗραμεν . . . λέγοντα αὐτὸν *χριστὸν βασιλέα* εἶναι, the word is merely an adjective, though it has very often been regarded as the title, English R. V.: "We found this man . . . saying that he himself is Christ a king," while in the margin is

³ In my *Composition and Date of Acts* (1916) I showed that "I Acts" (i.e., 1-xv. 35) was composed in Aramaic and by Luke was rendered into Greek.

⁴ For the formula δ λεγόμενος, ὁ λέγεται, etc., employed in translation Greek with the meaning exemplified in some of these passages, see also Mt. xxvii. 33, Jn. i. 38, Acts ix. 36. Another use of the formula in translating will receive mention presently.

given the correct rendering, *an anointed king*. Wellhausen, *Evang. Lucae*, renders: "der sagt, er selber sei Christus, König." But Pilate would have been supposed to be interested in the fact of a duly constituted Jewish king rather than in a term of Jewish theology. If the narrator had wished to bring in the Jewish Messiah, we should have had the reading *τὸν χριστὸν τὸν βασιλέα*. The reading of the original text was *מְשִׁיחַ מֶלֶךְ*, the same traditional form as the Hebrew in II Sam. iii. 39.

In Mk. ix. 41, "Whoever gives you a cup of water *ἐν ὀνόματι* *δοτι* *χριστοῦ* *ἐστέ*," it is of course customary to see the name "Christ"; the Greek seems to permit no other interpretation, but this is not what was intended by either evangelist or translator.⁵

In the original Aramaic, from which our text was rendered, there certainly was no proper name (see above). The translator saw the word *מְשִׁיחַ* without the determinative ending equivalent to the definite article, and rendered accordingly, but "*an anointed one*" is out of the question. According to Mk., these words were spoken some days after Peter's confession (viii. 29) at Caesarea Philippi, and Jesus was already known to his disciples as the Messiah. In Mt. (x. 42) the saying appears in an altogether different context, and the parallel phrase is simply *εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ*, "in the name of a disciple," the Aramaic idiom having a slightly different form.

The Marcan Aramaic here is, I think, another of the many cases in which a single *aleph* does duty both as determinative ending and as initial consonant of the following word; this either the result of accidental omission of one of the two *aleph*'s, or, as some have maintained, according to a custom of scribes. The matter is treated, with numerous examples, in Chapter IX of *Our Translated Gospels*. The text in the present case was: *בְּשֵׁם דִּי רֵמְשִׁיחַ [נָ] אַתְּיִכּוֹן*, and the translation must be: "because you are followers of *the Messiah*."

Wellhausen (whose work on the Gospels appears to have been hasty throughout, not doing him justice) misunderstood "in my name," in verse 37, and repeated the error,—in spite of the context,—in his note on xiii. 6. In ix. 37 the meaning is: in the name of

⁵ Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, pp. 250 f., follows the reading *ἐν ὀνόματι μου*, and regards *δοτι* *χριστοῦ* *ἐστέ* as "entbehrliche Erklärung." The *μου*, however, is certainly secondary, one of the numerous results of the tendency to make passable Greek out of the translation idiom.

Jesus *the Messiah*; confessing the divine Son of God. In xiii. 6 the phrase means: in the name of *the Messiah* (the title belonging only to the Nazarene); and the pretender by no means confesses his predecessor, saying "I am Jesus" (!) but on the contrary, "I am he, the Messiah." (As was said at the beginning of this essay, the Gospels concern themselves, first and last, with the Jewish Messiah; everything else is secondary.)

The phrase Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός, in which the precise meaning of ὁ λεγόμενος varies according to the context, has often been misunderstood. In Mt. i. 16 מְשִׁיחָא בְּתַרְקָא דִּי יִשְׁוֹעַ simply refers to the usual collocation of name and title, יִשְׁוֹעַ מְשִׁיחָא, "Jesus the Messiah," familiar from the first among all those who believed Jesus to be the One foretold in the scriptures. The "called" in Mt. i. 16 means "recognized as," "known to be," as in the use of the same verb in Hebrew; see Is. xlvii. 1, 5, xlviii. 8, and many other examples. On the rendering of יִשְׁוֹעַ מְשִׁיחָא by the Greek Ἰησοῦς χριστός, without the definite article, see below.

On the other hand, in Mt. xxvii. 17, 22 Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός (spoken by Pilate) has a different meaning, namely "Jesus, the *reputed* Messiah." Dalman, *Worte*, p. 248, denies this, and appeals to the "übliche Bedeutung" of ὁ λεγόμενος. There is no one "usual meaning" of the phrase, however, for it has several different meanings, according to the connection in which it stands. Two of these have already received mention, a third is now before us. In Mk. xv. 12, parallel to Mt. xxvii. 22, the words of Pilate are: τί οὖν θέλετε ποιῶσω ὃν λέγετε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων: "What then will you have me do with him *whom you call* the king of the Jews?" This certainly gives the meaning of the τὸν λεγόμενον in Mt. It is the same use of λέγω which we see in Mt. xvi. 15, τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι; Mk. x. 18, xii. 37, Jn. v. 18, xv. 15, Rev. ii. 20, "she who *asserts herself* (ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτήν) to be a prophetess," etc. So many commentators interpret the passage in Mt. xxvii.

Dalman sees here a reference to the Ἰησοῦς χριστός, "Jesus Christ" of the Greek-speaking Christian church, and declares it incredible that the man of Nazareth should ever have been called "Jesus the Messiah" during his earthly life. "His disciples" (he says, p. 249, appealing to Mt. xvi. 20, Mk. viii. 30, Lk. ix. 21) "were not permitted to give him this title, and others would hardly have done so." But the passages appealed to, if they prove anything, prove

the contrary of what Dalman affirms. In all three Gospels it is clearly represented that Jesus accepted and approved Peter's designation of him as *ὁ χριστός*; what the disciples are forbidden to do, in Mt. xvi. 20 and the parallels, is to *publish the fact*. As for other men, of course all those who believed him to be the Expected One called him from the first, "Jesus the Messiah." It was precisely for this reason that he was ultimately arrested and put on trial before the Jewish authorities.

It remains to consider the *Ἰησοῦς χριστός* of the Gospels and I Acts, that is, in the translation Greek of the earliest Christian documents. This is in all cases the rendering of the Aramaic *ישוע משיחא*, "Jesus the Messiah," the Aramaic word being always a title, not a proper name. In a word-for-word rendering from Aramaic into Greek it is a well known fact that where in the original a proper name is either immediately preceded or followed by the title, the Greek translation very frequently omits the definite article, the position of the Aramaic determinative element rendering the omission natural. In translations from Hebrew, where the article precedes the noun, such cases are only occasional. Even in the brief specimens of rendering from Aramaic contained in our Greek Bible, namely in the few chapters in Daniel and Ezra, many examples are to be found; and there is some evidence that they were still more numerous in the original renderings uncorrected by Greek scribes.

Thus, for *כורש מלכא* we find *Kūros βασιλεύς*, Ezr. v. 13, vi. 3, and *βασιλεὺς Kūros*, Ezr. v. 17, 1 Esdr. vi. 16, 23. For *שְׁכָנִי סִפְרָא*, *Σαμσαί γραμματεὺς* Ezr. iv. 17, 23; and for *זֹרֹבָבֶל פָּחָה*, *Ζοροβαβὲλ ἑπαρχος*, 1 Esdr. vi. 28. Likewise *Ναβουχοδονοσόρ βασιλεὺς* Dan. iii. 1, 5; iv. 34c (LXX); *βασιλεὺς Δαρείος*, 1 Esdr. iii. 1; vi. 7, 33; vii. 5; *Αρτασασθὰ βασιλεὺς*, Ezr. iv. 8, 11, 23; vii. 21; *βασιλεὺς Αρταξέρξης*, 1 Esdr. ii. 16, viii. 9. Observe also that these renderings are not all from the same hand, nor from the same period.

Ἰησοῦς χριστός is, then, in its origin, simply a conventional Greek translation of the Aramaic *ישוע משיחא*, "Jesus the Messiah."

This is the correct English rendering in Mt. i. 1 (where it has been customary to see the proper name "Christ"), also in i. 18; xvi. 21, Mk. i. 1, Jn. i. 17; xvii. 3, Acts iii. 6; ix. 34; x. 48, xi. 17 etc. In this way the phrase was intended by the translators and understood by the earliest readers of these documents in their Greek form.

The formula which had thus become firmly fixed in the usage of the Jewish-Christian church was taken over by the Gentile Christians, with the inevitable result that *χριστός* came at once to be used as a proper name, with or without the *Ἰησοῦς*. In the Four Gospels and I Acts, however, there is still no trace of such use. In these writings *χριστός*, as applied to Jesus, is always either the descriptive adjective or the title, never the proper name.

THE CODEX CAVENSIS

NEW LIGHT ON ITS LATER HISTORY

E. A. LOWE

Oxford and Princeton

Among the oldest Latin manuscripts of the Bible the Codex Cavensis holds a place of its own. It is by common consent one of the two most important representatives of the peculiar type of text which was current in Spain for many centuries. The Spanish manuscript closest to the Cavensis is the Toletanus*; editors usually cite the variant readings of both.¹ Of the two the Cavensis is by far the more accurate, as it is also the more ancient. It also happens to be a superb specimen of calligraphy, perhaps the finest manuscript ever penned by a Spanish scribe. He left us his name—DANILA SCRIPTOR—in beautiful capitalis rustica, entered after the colophon to the Lamentations of Jeremiah on fol. 166^v. It is a Spanish name. But Danila does not tell us where he wrote or when.

The present note is not concerned with the text of the Cavensis but with its palaeography, the main object being to call attention to a scrap of fresh evidence which goes to show that the Codex must have been in South Italy ever since the twelfth century. At the same time it may be useful to state briefly what is knowable regarding its date and origin and to give as detailed a description of the manuscript as possible on the lines followed in *Codices Latini Antiquiores*,² in the hope that the hard and dry facts may some day prove helpful in discovering the precise locality which produced so remarkable a book.

The Codex Cavensis gets its name from its present home near La Cava in the province of Salerno. The Benedictine Abbey situ-

* On the much debated question of its date see now Augustín Millares Carlo, *Contribución al "Corpus" de Codices Visigóticos*, pp. 99-130 (Madrid, 1931). The arguments in favor of the 10th century seem thoroughly convincing.

¹ Cf. Wordsworth's and White's preface and epilogue to their edition of the N. T.: *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi* etc. Pars prior, pp. xi, xiiif. and 717ff. (Oxford 1889-1898).

² Part I, The Vatican City (Oxford 1934); Part II, Great Britain and Ireland (Oxford 1935). Parts III and IV are devoted to Italy.

ated at Corpo di Cava near the Holy Trinity was only founded in the early monastic houses. Its charters, is not without importance. Its charters and manuscripts the script of South Italy which is 'Beneventan', but which formerly bore a term still used by palaeographers, the designation 'Lombardic' has been given. It has manifestly played its part in the Cavensis.

For all its importance, both the Cavensis remained practically unchanged for decades of the last century. Mabillon, the father of Latin palaeography, in November 1685 he was shown the Cavensis apparently was not a new script, hardly have failed to have described it as 'Italicum'.³ One wonders whether for some reason for keeping quiet about the manuscript not yet migrated. It had certainly left Spain centuries ago, as will be shown presently, it had been at latest by the beginning of the 17th century that that center was the abbey of Cava.

Although the Cavensis is a script, abbreviation, orthography, it is as such, and even the beginning of the 19th century promptly recognize its national character. The scholars who first dealt with it, Angelo Mai,⁴ never suspected its origin (vestre⁵), D'Aragona⁶ and Z...

³ Cf. *The Beneventan Script*, p. 28.

⁴ *Museum Italicum*, Tom. I, p. 118.

⁵ *Lettre de L'abbé Rozan sur des livres de la Cava* (Naples 1822); Italian translation.

⁶ *Scriptorum Veterum etc.*, III, p. 118. *Romanum*, IX, p. xxiii (Rome 1843) (Rome 1852).

⁷ *Paléographie Universelle*, III, pl. 118.

⁸ *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, Vol. I.

⁹ In *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

QUANTULACUMQUE

va near the top of the hill and dedicated to the only founded in 1011. It is therefore not one of houses. Its library, though particularly rich in without important ancient manuscripts. Of both scripts the oldest are written in the peculiar which modern palaeographers call 'Beneventan'—formerly bore the unfortunate name 'Lombardic'—by palaeographical die-hards. The unhistoric 'Lombardic' has been responsible for much confusion.³ It played its part in obscuring the true character of

ance, both textually and palaeographically, the practically unknown to scholars until the early century. When the great Benedictine, Jean Mabillon of Latin palaeography, visited the abbey in 1687, he was shown a number of manuscripts, but the one he was not among them. Had he seen it, he could have devoted some space to it in his *De re scriptura*. He wonders whether the monks of Holy Trinity had been keeping quiet about their ancient Bible. Or had it yet migrated to that part of Southern Italy? It is not Spain centuries before Mabillon's time, since, presently, it had reached some South Italian center in the beginning of the twelfth century. And it is arguable that this is the abbey near La Cava.

The *Missal* is a typically Spanish manuscript whose orthography, and ornamentation all proclaim its nationality, the beginner in palaeography would nowadays its nationality, it is nevertheless a fact that the dealt with our manuscript, like De Roza⁵ and suspected its origin, and Champollion (in Silvestre⁸ and Ziegler⁹ describe it as 'Lombardic'.

Script, p. 28, n. 1 (Oxford 1914).

Dom. I, p. 118 (Paris 1687).

Manuscrits sur des livres et des manuscrits précieux de la bibliothèque; Italian translation by Dom G. Morcaldi.

etc., III, pars 2, pp. 165f. (Rome 1828); *Spicilegium* (Rome 1843); *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, I, pars 2, p. 7

Selle, III, pl. CXLI-106 (Paris 1839-41).

Cavensis, Vol. I, Appendix (Naples 1873).

er Bayerisch. Akademie (1876), pp. 607-660.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS:
INCIPIT CARTOLÆ
LIBRI PRIMÆ:

XIII **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XIV **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XV **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XVI **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XVII **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XVIII **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XIX **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XX **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXI **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXII **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXIII **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXIV **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXV **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXVI **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXVII **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXVIII **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXIX **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.
 XXX **D**all'altre cose che sono
 in questo mondo, non
 si può dire che siano
 buone, se non per
 l'uso che se ne fa.

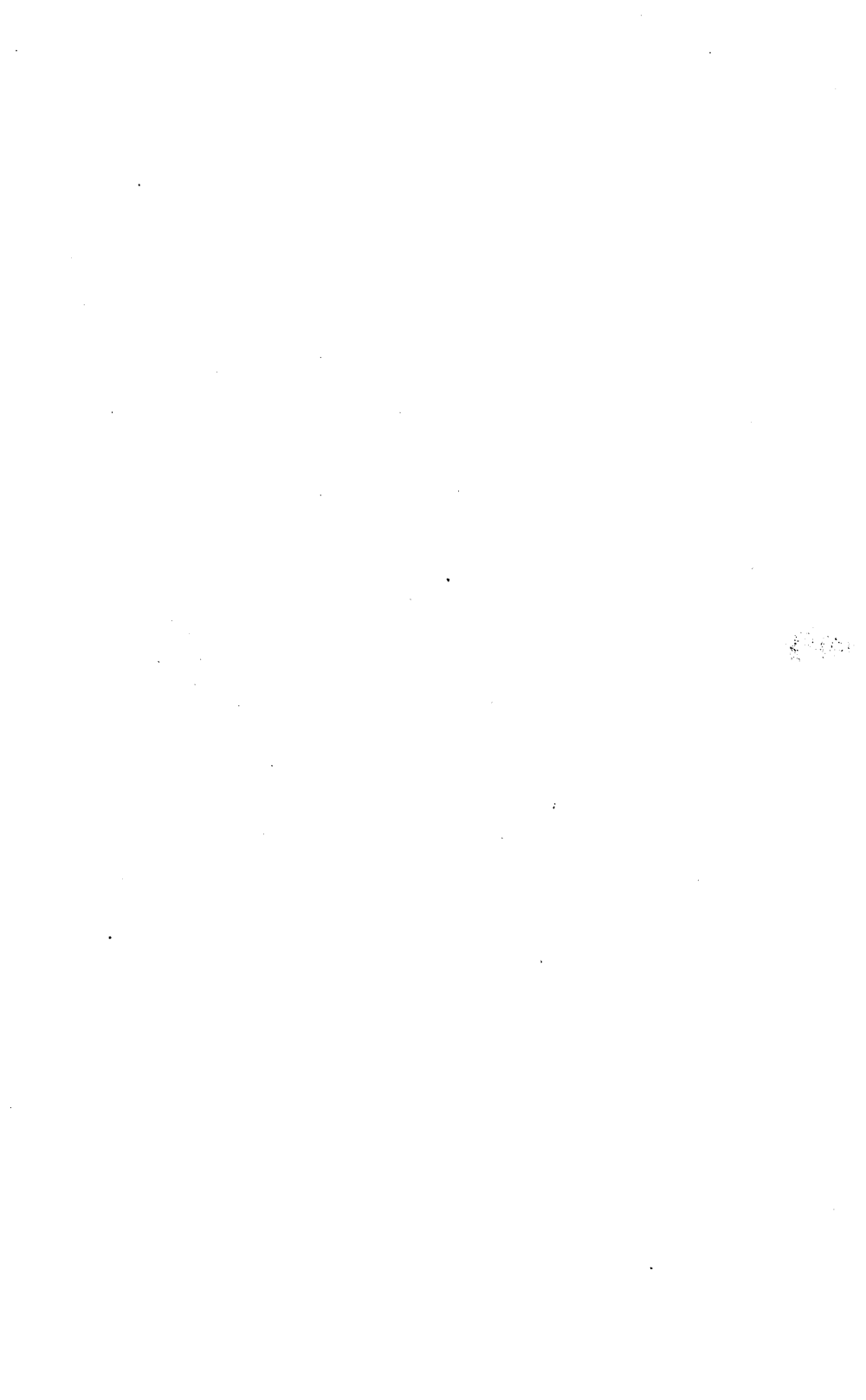
[illegible]

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS :
INCIPIT CARTOLÆ
LIBRI PRIMÆ :

Codex Cavensis, fol. 80v. Biblia Sacra. Paralip. Lib. I, Prolog. et cap. 1.

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This error in classification found a place, for a short time, even in a well-known text book on palaeography, as anyone may see who examines the first edition of Wattenbach's *Anleitung*.¹⁰ It was not until the great Florentine palaeographer Cesare Paoli attacked the mistaken ascription that the error was banished for good and all. His article published in 1879¹¹ convinced Wattenbach completely, and subsequent editions of the *Anleitung* correctly describe the Cava Bible as Spanish, as do all later writers who deal with its text,¹² and all palaeographers by profession.¹³

While palaeography has progressed far enough to be able to distinguish a Visigothic manuscript from a so-called 'Lombardic', it is still groping in the dark when it comes to fixing the precise home of a Visigothic manuscript. Some day perhaps, as a result of careful and exhaustive study, we may be in a position to say of a manuscript that it hails from Toledo rather than Seville, from Leon rather than Barcelona. But we are not there yet. And the origin of the manuscript which has been described as "by far the finest product of Spanish penmanship and book decoration" eludes us still. What we are certain of, however, is that this manuscript could have originated only in a center of great palaeographic traditions. There is ground for believing that this great center was probably in the North rather than in the South, since in the North more frequent opportunity existed for coming in contact with the masterpieces of Caroline calligraphy. For according to some art critics traces of French influence are discernible in the ornamentation of the Caven-sis;¹⁴ and the palaeographer is tempted to account for the systematic use by the scribe of the Caven-sis of various ancient types (*capitalis rustica*, *uncial*, *half-uncial* and even *bd-uncial*, all seen in the

¹⁰ *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*, p. 8 (Leipzig 1869).

¹¹ In *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie 4, Vol. III (1879), p. 256.

¹² See P. Corssen, *Epistula ad Galatas*, pp. 12-14 (Berlin 1885); G. Schepps in *Corpus Scriptorum Eccles. Lat.* XVIII (1889), pp. xxxff.; S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 14f. (Paris 1893); Wordsworth and White cited in note 1; A. Amelli, *De libri Baruch vetustissima Latina versione etc.*, pp. 6ff. (Monte Cassino 1902). F. Stabile in *Rivista di Filologia*, XXXIX (1911), pp. 361-384; De Bruyne in *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXI (1914-19), pp. 373-401; H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, pp. 299, 310ff. (Rome and Paris 1922).

¹³ Their works are cited in the bibliographical paragraph following the description of the manuscript and in notes 11, 17 and 18.

¹⁴ Marquis De Lozoya, *Historia de la Parte Hispánico*, p. 322 and fig. 397 (Barcelona 1931-4).

accompanying plates) by his Biblical manuscripts of the school one encounters the same delightful types of script.¹⁵ While the quadrata, not found in the Codex on the other hand, employs bd-uncial of Tours. I may say in passing that bd-uncial was considered by Bezae and the Codex Claromontanus (type), its presence in the Cavensis sheds some light on what I call the bolder manuscript is confined to the ninth century uncial manuscript of which the bd-uncial is only used for titles. It is subordinate and ancillary in character. The lines are sloping in both (see plate 10). A curious feature: letter *a* is almost square. This is a clue as to the place of origin of the Cavensis. In any case it is a manuscript as to deserve a special study. It should be gone over with a fine-tooth comb before it will be possible to draw conclusions regarding peculiarities as regards locality.

And now a word on the date. We shall never know, but there can be no doubt that it is in the ninth century, probably in the middle. My judgment is based mainly on palaeography. If the broad lines of the development of the script in my *Studia Palaeographica*¹⁷ are correct, then by C. U. Clark in his *Collectanea Palaeographica* the Cavensis is more ancient than the Lindisfarne Gospels of the tenth century. On the other hand, the frequent strokes and frequent ligatures are

¹⁵ See the facsimiles in Delisle's *Mémoires de l'Académie*, XXXII, 1 (1888), and offered in E. K. Rand's *Studies in the History of Manuscripts* (Mass. 1929 and 1934).

¹⁶ Cf. Steffens, *Lateinische Palaeographie*.

¹⁷ Pp. 80f. (Munich 1910), published by C. U. Clark.

¹⁸ Pp. 106f. (Paris 1920), published by the *Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 24.

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s) by his acquaintance with the exquisite of the school of St. Martin's at Tours, in which same delight in the display of nearly all ancient While the Tours scribes make use of capitalis in the Cavensis, the scribe of the Cavensis employs bd-uncial, not found in the manuscripts in passing that if one needed further proof considered a distinct type (the entire Codex ex Claromontanus of the Epistles are in this the Cavensis would supply it. It also throws call the hierarchy of scripts: the bd-uncial in confined to the Capitulationes, just as in the fifth script of Jerome's Chronicle in the Bodleian used for the marginal summaries.¹⁶ The type uncillary in both manuscripts, and the letters (see plate 1). In the Cavensis there is one or *a* is almost capitalis rustica. Perhaps some of origin may be contained in the orthography any case its misspellings are so extraordinary study. But many manuscripts will have to fine-tooth comb and exhaustive data collected able to draw any conclusions from orthographic ls locality.

the date of the Cavensis. Its precise age we t there can be little doubt that it was written probably in the middle or even past it. This ainly on palaeographic grounds, on the script. he development of Visigothic script as sketched *graphica*¹⁷ are valid guides—they were accepted *Collectanea Hispanica*¹⁸ (pp. 106–7)—then the ent than our extant dated manuscripts of the he other hand, if low broad letters with coarse ligatures are characteristic of the eighth and

Delisle's *Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours* etc. , XXXII, 1 (Paris 1885) and especially the rich material *udies in the Script of Tours*, vols. I and II (Cambridge,

che Palaeographie,² pl. 17 (Trier 1909).

0), published in *Sitzungsber. der Bayer. Akademie*.

0), published in the *Transactions of the Conn. Acad. of*

Phragmites australis

(1) Emblicus thiumelus quod non sibi.

[illegible]

I n deo nati sunt auribus eum.
hoc uelut de longis protulisti uisum.
P ullus est lumbus tuus in quo natus
habeuisti quem ad uentrem matris tuae.
A DJECIT DOMINUS ET LOCUTUS EST AD JOB.

N umquid quicontra dicitur in deo.
cum fuerit deus conquisitor eius.

h uisus est qui in te ad eum.
deus tibi respondit illi.

R ESPONDENS AUTEM JOB DNO DIXIT.

Q uia locutus sum tui.
respondet quid possum.

u numponam super hoc meum.

h u num locutus sum quod huiusmodi non dixissem.
et uelut in quibus huiusmodi non uidimus.

R ESPONDENS AUTEM DNS JOB DE TURBINE DIXIT.

Q uia in te uisus sum lumbus tuus.

I n aeternis uisus sum tibi in diebus tuis.

N umquid ista cum fueris ludis cum meo.

de condonabis mihi uelut in diebus tuis.

S uber brachium tuum ad eum.

et si uocem similia sonus.

C itum uelut uisus est tibi in diebus tuis in te.
et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

D ispergit super os tuum.

et tibi pici in hominem ut non gaudium humilium.

R e pici et uocem super os tuum de confusione.

de condonabis mihi in diebus tuis.

h ubi condonabis mihi in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

E t si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

N umquid mulas percuti uisus est tibi.
uia loquens in te uisus est tibi.

N umquid fenum de equis percussum.
et accipis eum in te uisus est tibi.

N umquid in huiusmodi equis uisus est tibi.
uia loquens in te uisus est tibi.

C oncidit equum humi ei.
disiudicat illum ne gaudium totum.

N umquid in plaustris uisus est tibi.

uia loquens in te uisus est tibi.

P onit super equum munus tuum in te uisus est tibi.
ne huiusmodi uisus est tibi.

E t si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

uia loquens in te uisus est tibi.

Q uisus est tibi in te uisus est tibi.

h omni uisus est tibi in te uisus est tibi.

N on patet tibi in te uisus est tibi.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

Q uisus est tibi in te uisus est tibi.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

P otius uisus est tibi in te uisus est tibi.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

C onpulsus est tibi in te uisus est tibi.

h uisus est tibi in te uisus est tibi.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

h uisus est tibi in te uisus est tibi.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

et si uocem similia sonus in diebus tuis.

700

ρ οσάυμλυσέυιασμίαι.

Non est ad sup̄statum pacis aut quae computatū fi.

© mncryblmncuidsc.

RESPONDENS AUTEM JOB DOMINO DIXIT.

Տ ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ՈՒՆԻՎԵՐՍԻՏԵՏԻ

famulus et heros cognatio.

9 uisitalatque celu ac consilium habet quæ sit ratio.

1 deolnsipienatlocuassum.

loquutur huiusmodi seculi et aeterni signum in eum.

ad udisceyoloquor.

Inditogubioatfahofatendemichi.

λ' ὑποκαταρτισαυδία.

nunciat in hoc ulum et uidetur.

7 desenvolvimento profundo.

acrogopocnietum infuilluacine.

Postquam uero in locum ad dominum uerbu huiusmodi ob.

dixi et huius communiam. In auctoris futurum est in auct

Adnatus amicis quoniam non est locus et costume

caudus fumicosus quoniam non est locus ad summum
 et cum sic ut situm est lob. summi et ligatur ad summum

recaum sicu a f e u m e u s l o b . l u m i a t t g l a u n p a d m a u t o r

carpatinuum coactat utrummum ob ex officio
 holocum utrummum utrummum utrummum utrummum

holocausumptouobis lobuacmsthuismeturhotumia.
ntudus t. utnflucicim mhu manuchufpruntur

ptouobis. faciem eius accipiam huiusmodi uobis in praeiudicium
emulorum. et uos faciem meam faciemus. et deus cum uobis.

[illegible]

uultus lob. habet unatque oculus communis

tabulduchuyarifarofurnuumuachyars. fapactunasi
umlaupact. fuyardfapactunasi. fapactunasi. fapactunasi.

cuatlocuauisufutuauetorisdominus. etafuscipiadomigifu

cibis lob. dominus quoque conuictus erat propter inani-
tatem

lobquumhotuaptoamicissuif. Eaudididiadomin

omniumque cumque fortuna obduplicem. Utinam

uadinhomnifituatfuisahuniu6hu6tot6fuu66ocuc

acquino ubi tunc sum prius socum saltum acum et punctum.

modulstamouctunaputsumetupua toa con sol uatunafu

super hominem quod natus est dominus super eum.

Et dicitur a quo quisque habet unum et unum et unum

early ninth century, then the Cavensis has reached its present stage. The date thus derived from a study of the text is confirmed by internal evidence furnished by entries which seem to refer to the theological controversy on the question of predestination, in connection with the councils which were held in 848, 849 and 855. The date is in accordance with the verdict suggested by the script.

The later history of the Cavensis, like its earlier history, is in mystery. We do not know when it left its present circumstances.

And this brings me to what I consider the most important feature of the Cavensis, which is the only justification for the present name. The Cavensis at least three marginal notes re-written in a script entered by a reader whose natural script must have been Beneventan, i.e., South Italian. (See Plate 2), opposite the word *uerbi*, in fol. 101v, is in Beneventan hand of the first half of the ninth century. *belli*. In the upper half of fol. 254v (reproduced on Plate 2) the prologue to the Epistle to the Romans is entered in the margin, with a sign showing that it was entered after the sentence *gentes hetiam he contrarij*. In the same column, nine lines below, the same hand has written the words *simulacra intuebamini* which were followed by *in nube uel igni conspicerere solebatis*. Both the *i* and the *t* by the group of two dots over a comma, which is the Beneventan full stop. This same full stop, as we have seen, is mounted by an oblique line for lesser pauses. This feature—is found passim in this prologue. The script is unmistakably Beneventan, the words *intuebamini* have elements which are foreign to the Beneventan minuscule, for neither the *d* nor the *t* nor the *i* are in the Beneventan form. And yet I think it can justly be claimed that the reader permitted himself the non-Beneventan forms because he was trained in the Beneventan school; the pen had been accustomed to Beneventan calligraphy. What is more, the reader who wrote *dicentes* also wrote *intuebamini*. Now, while the script is non-Beneventan, the *t* in the latter is pure Beneventan. We have here, then, is doubtless a case where the influence of the time to graft Caroline forms

Cavensis has manifestly passed that from a study of the script is con-
 rished by a few curious marginal
 he theological disputes then raging
 n, in connection with which church
 and 855. These dates fit in well
 e script.

nsis, like its origin, seems shrouded
 when it left Spain, nor under what

consider the scrap of evidence which
 e present note. There exist in the
 al notes recording variant readings
 al script must have been, I am con-
 Italian. On fol. 100 (seen in our
 erbi, in Iob XL, 27, a manifestly
 half of the twelfth century wrote:
 254^v (reproduced in our Plate 3) in
 the Romans, the word *dicentes* is
 gn showing that it is to be inserted
he contrario respondebant. In the
 he same hand inserted in the margin
 which were omitted after the words
is. Both these entries are followed
 comma, which is the normal Bene-
 ull stop, as well as the point sur-
 lesser pauses—also a Beneventan
 s prologue. While the word *belli*
 the words *dicentes* and *simulacra*
 n are foreign to the South Italian
 the *t* nor the *a* has the Beneventan
 stly be claimed that the scribe who
 ventan forms of these letters was
 ; the pen he used was one adapted
 at is more—the hand which wrote

Now, while the *t* in the former
 latter is pure Beneventan. What
 a case which illustrates the tend-
 line forms upon the Beneventan

calligraphy. And it is precisely Cava that an excellent parallel is manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia* written partly in Beneventan and partly in non-Beneventan. On fol. 34 both scripts are seen. What is curious is that the non-Beneventan script, which writes the non-Beneventan text, uses a Beneventan punctuation which entered the readings on fol. 34. In mind, considerable resemblance to Cava Gregory MS. 7. That they were made by a South Italian will be clear from the style of writing with the Beneventan style of writing. It is possible that they were made in the 12th century and are still preserved?

If the above account of the volume is correct, then the facts of the case, then the Amelli as to how the Codex came to be in the hands of the Amelli is plausible.¹⁹ He suggests that the Codex belonged to the Benedictine Monastery of Santa Maria di Amelli, anti-Pope Gregory VIII, who had been archbishop of Braga and a welcome visitor to the monastery in the first decades of the twelfth century. This is a conjecture; yet a hypothesis which is plausible. The manuscript with an Iberian Benedictine origin and relations with the Benedictine house of Amelli preserved has something at least in common with the

LA CAVA, Archivio della Basilica

BIBLA SACRA.

Foll. 303; 320 × 268 mm. < 265-275 × 150-160 mm. 54-56 lines (the lists of names on fol. 80v and 81r are written on the inside, each leaf singly before folding. Double pricks in the outer margin guided by a Roman numeral often followed by a heading. The text is surrounded by an artfully decorated and coloured border. The headings mostly in elongated capitals in a Gothic script or in hollow capitals filled with colours,

¹⁹ See Dom Mattei-Cerasoli, *Codices Cavae*

QUANTULACUMQUE

is precisely among the manuscripts of La Cava a parallel is found: the early twelfth century Cavensis's *Moralia*, which bears the number 7, is written in Beneventan and partly in ordinary minuscule. As we have seen, the Beneventan continuing the Cava script. What is curious and interesting is that the hand of the Cavensis-Beneventan is manifestly accustomed to use a pen adapted for that script. The same pen is used in both parts. Now the hand of the Cavensis on fol. 254^v has, to my mind, a resemblance to the non-Beneventan hand of the Cavensis.

That the variant readings just mentioned in the Cavensis will be admitted by everyone familiar with the Italian style of writing. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the Cavensis was made in the very abbey where the Cavensis is now?

The fact that the variant readings is not incongruous with the Cava script, then the surmise made by the late Abbot of Cava that the Codex came to Italy seems attractive and even probable. It is that the precious and beautiful Bible once owned by the Benedictine Mauritianus Bordinho, later known as Mauritianus II, who had been Bishop of Coimbra and was a welcome visitor at the abbey in La Cava in the twelfth century. This is no more than a hypothesis which connects this important Spanish manuscript with the Benedictine of high station who had owned the manuscript in which the manuscript is now kept at least in its favor.

Cavensis della Badia della SS^{ma} Trinità, MS. I.

VISIGOTHIC MINUSCULE. SAEC. IX²

265-275 × 215 mm. > normally in three columns of text on fol. 80^v ff. are in six columns). Ruling on hair-line. Double bounding lines enclose each column. Margin guided ruling. Gatherings normally of eights, often followed by QT (quaternio) and enclosed in an enclosed border. Hair-side outside quires. Colophons and initials in alternating red and black or red and blue, with colours, the whole usually enclosed in coloured

Romani iudeis gentibusque credide-
runt. hiis super hac contentione uole-
bant se alterutrum superponere.

Nam iudei dicebant. Nos sumus populus dei. q̄
ab initio dilexit et posuit. nos circumcisi ex gene-
re abraham. ex stirpe sancta descendimus.
et notus est et cognitus iudea et tantum deus. nos
de egypto. et de isidris et iuxta uisus in egypto
maiores. et transiimus in ^{trans}spede. quum iuxta
cos nostros et grauiissimi. fluctibus in uolueret.
nobis manna praeiit dominus in deserto. et q̄
si filius uisus est et prae uolunt in ministrant. nos
dilecti nocturne in columna nubis ignis que pra-
cessit. huius nobis in uisum in tex hostenderet. ad
que huius cetera uisus circum nos in mensa benefi-
cia et celum uisus in solidi digni uisus in deilegem
accipere. et uocem domini loquentis audire. eiusq̄
cognoscere uoluntatem. in qua legem nobis pro-
missus est x̄ps. ad quos se tam praeuenisse et sta-
tus est dicens. non ueni inisi ad huius quae perie-
runt domus israel. quum uisus in potius quum
homines appellauit. in quem uisus in eo se huius
dilecti et dolores deserventes quibus ab initio deserv-
is nobis conpararemini. et non potius in propositis.
et in locum ex legis auctoritate et consuetudine
deputemini. et hoc ipsi non merere ab initio. nisi
quia laus dei semper clementia uoluit uos ad
etiam in imitationem admittere. Gentes he-
ti in huius contrarios respondere. quum in omni
et ex quo uisus in beneficiis in narraueritis. tanto
maioris uisus in reos esse monstrabitis.
semper enim in his hominibus exitis in gratia.
nam in spediibus quibus aridum mare transis-
iudebatur in deo laquei fecistis. et in huius equo
praeuolante huius necem aduersari in domino can-
taueratis. simulacra uisus in fieri propositis.
illius huius ueneranda quibus deum in uisus in
uelleri in conspiceret solent in manna quoque
uisus in asti diodit. et semper in deserto contra
dominum in uisus in astis. ad aegyptum huius
uisus in manu iudei et crediderunt. et
uisus in plurima patres in istis et in rebus in uocatione

innoxantia et in uisum. qui in magnitudi-
ne uisus in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
cognouisset. Si autem in uisum. qui in uisum.
tate et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
quum in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
altercantibus. et in uisum. qui in uisum.
in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
eorum in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
ambos uisus in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
liquisse. iudeos quod per praeuocationem
legis deum in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
quum in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
de uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
similiter uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
quum in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.

Item aliu argumentum eius de

Romani sunt in parte ethyaliae in pre-
uenatunt a falsis apostolis et sub nomi-
ne domini in falsis et in lege et in prae-
phetas et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.

Item aliu argumentum

Romani non dum uiderat apostolus.
neque in ipse huius et in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.
et in uisum. qui in uisum. qui in uisum.

1

et cap. 1.

Romani ex Iudaeis gentibusque credide-
runt. hiis super uia contentione uole-
bant se alterutrum superponere.

Nam Iudaei dicebant. Nos sumus populus dei qui
ab initio dilexit et fouit. Nos circumcisi ex gene-
re Abraham. ex stirpe sancti et descendimus.
et notus retro apud Iudaei tantum deus. Nos
de Egypto. unde isignis e iuribus liberati.
mares in tota transiimus pede. quum nimi-
us nostris os grauius. fluctibus in uolueren-
t. nobis manna pluuit dominus in deserto. et quia
si filius uisus est per uoluministravit. nos
dilecti noctuque in columna nubis signis quae
cessit. huiusmodi in uoluminibus ostenderet. ad
que huiusmodi elus circanos in mensa benefi-
cia taceamus nos solidi quum uisus deilegem
accipere. et uocem domini loquentis audire. eiusque
cognoscere uoluntatem. in qua legem uisus pro-
missus est. et per ad quos se per uoluminibus uisus est
taceat dicens. non ueni in uisus ad homines quae perie-
runt domus israel. quum uisus canes potius quam
homines appellauit. in quum ne ergo est huius
dilecti doli deservientes quibus ab initio deservit
is nobis conparemini. et non potius in prosilio
in uoluminibus ex legis auctoritate et consuetudine
deputemini. et hoc ipsum non mereremini. nisi
qui aliquid deis semper clementia uoluit uisus ad
trahit in uoluminibus admittere. Gentiles
uoluminibus contrarii respondebant. quantum aliquid
aliquid uisus de beneficiis in narraueritis. tanto
maioris uisus criminis reos esse monstrabitis.
semper enim his hominibus exitiis in gratia.
nam in prosilio quibus aridum mare transiit.
Iudeis ante doli quae fecistis. et per huiusmodi
paulo ante huiusmodi ad uerum dominum can-
taueratis. simulacra uisus periprosacis.
Illi hoc uisus ueneranda quibus deum in uisus
uoluminibus conspiceret uisus. manna quoque
uoluminibus est id quod. et semper in deserto contra
dominum in uisus. ad aegyptum huius
uoluminibus ad aegyptum huiusmodi edire uolentes.
et in prosilio in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus

ignorantia deperitandum. qui enim agnitum
illic sequitur. olim huiusmodi sequere eius sian-
cognouisset. Sic autem uisus de generis nobi-
tate iactatis. quas in omni uoluminibus in uisus
quam carnalis in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
enique esau huiusmodi in uisus in uisus in uisus
sint. in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
alter cantibus. apud uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
eorum in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
ambos uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
liquisse. Iudeos quos per praeu in uisus in uisus
legis deum in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
quum cognitum de creatura in uisus in uisus in uisus
de uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
tam uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
similiter uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
uissimam in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
quum in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
tes ad xpi fidem uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
hobrem. uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
cordiam cohortatur.

Item alii argumentum eius de

Romani sunt in parte ethaliae. hi pre-
uenit in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
ne dominus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
pheta in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
holus ad uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
scribens in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus

Item alii argumentum

Romani non dum uiderat apostolus.
neque in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
cerat in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
lam in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
postholus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
cuti in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
itali in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus
uoluminibus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus in uisus

THE CODEX CAVENSIS

ornamental frames of graceful lines; red is used for the Punctuation: the low or medial point marks the various later additions; the interrogation point is not used; Isometrical parts of the Bible are written per cola et commata from Nomina Sacra) include: **autm** = autem; **b** with the bow sweeping boldly below the line = bis (fol. 18 etc.) **Ihrs fm** = Ierusalem; **Srhl** = Israel; **krsmi** = karissimi; **m** = misericordiae; **nmn**, **nmne** = nomen, -ine; **nn** = non; **omnia**; **p** and **p** = per; **pplm** = populum; **q** = que; **qnm** bar transected vertically = tum; **usi** = uestri; the horizontal bar is surmounted by a dot except when placed over **q** (que) shafts of **h** or **l**. Omitted **m** at word or line-end is marked with a dot above. Spelling: the most conspicuous feature of **h** (hadam, ha, homnia, het). Ornamental pages decorated are seen on foll. Iv and 143; on some pages containing pre-space is cruciform and various colours are used in the text (fol. 220, 220v, 224v, 225); horse-shoe formed arches enclosing text (fol. 221-222v); initials show the rope pattern or the leaf pattern; the colours used are red, pink, blue, green, yellow; gold is also used. Parchment good; fol. 221 is stained blue, foll. 194, 224 are stained. Ink grey or greyish brown; on the ornamental pages red and white inks are used for the text. Script of the Bible is a very regular Visigothic minuscule with a general inclination; uncial **d** is more common than minuscule; **I**-longa is used for the intervocalic sound; it is occasionally forked at the top; not to be confused with letter **Y**; there are frequent ligatures. The same type of script, exceptionally tiny, is used for expositions (fol. 186v f. Uncial is used for prefaces and for the opening sections; **bd**-uncial is used often for capitula (foll. 57v, 58, 64, 64v) and for the argumenta of the Pauline Epistles (foll. 255v etc.). Where two occur one is in uncial, the other in half-uncial (foll. 181v, 182v). **u** is used for some opening verses and for the scribe's signature. **TOR**, on fol. 166v. Some marginalia are in sloping uncial or minuscule. Beneventan variant readings saec. XII in the margins (see facs.). Here and there are Arabic notes (foll. 32, 33, 98, fol. 98). The whole MS. is in excellent condition.

Catalogues and facsimiles:—Dom B. Gaetani D'Aragona, *Manuale della biblioteca della SS. Trinità di Cava* published by the *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*; two plates (Naples 1873). *Codices Cavenses* Pars I, pp. 1ff. (Cava 1935); Silvestre (n. 7); the plate is composite; C. U. Clark, *Coll. Hisp.* (n. 13-14 (reduced)); Dom H. Quentin, *Mémoire etc.* (see above); De Lozoya, *Hist. de l'arte Hisp.* (cited above n. 14) fig. 3.

For other works, see notes 11, 12, 17, 18, and L. (Munich 1907); Z. García Villada, *Paleografía Española* (Madrid 1907); A. Millares Carlo, *Tratado de Paleografía Española* (Madrid 1907).

s used for the first words of chapters. ks the various pauses; other points are not used; Iob, the Psalms, and other ola et commata. Abbreviations (apart em; b with the prolonged curve of the (fol. 18 etc.) \overline{b}^s , \overline{I}^s , \overline{m}^s = bus, ius, mus; = karissimi; \overline{mm} = meum; $\overline{msrcdae}$ = \overline{nn} = non; \overline{nsam} = nostram; \overline{oma} = \overline{q} = que; \overline{qnm} = quoniam; t with cross-stri; the horizontal abbreviation stroke d over \overline{q} (que), or when transecting the ne-end is marked by a flourish, usually spicuous feature is the perverse misuse al pages decorated with coloured crosses containing prefatory matter the written used in the text (foll. 143^v, 194, 194^v, arches enclose the canon tables (foll. or the leaf or bird or fish motif; the w; gold is also used (foll. Iv, 143, 143^v) ll. 194, 224 and 253 are stained purple. tal pages red, pink, blue, green, yellow t of the Biblical text is a finely penned, general inclination towards the left; I-longa is used initially and medially ly forked at the top (Yn, aYt) and is frequent ligatures: ern, rtem, etc.; the s used for exegetic marginalia on foll. the opening sentences of books; sloping 7^v, 58, 64, 64^v etc.); half-uncial is used (foll. 255^v etc.) and where two prologues cial (foll. 181^v and 239); Rustic capital scribe's signature: DANILA SCRIP- sloping uncial (fol. 14^v) or in ordinary saec. XII in. occur on foll. 100, 254^v tes (foll. 32, 33), once a Hebrew note ndition.

aetani D'Aragona, *I manoscritti mem-*
ava published as Appendix to Vol. I of
aples 1873). D. Leo Mattei-Cerasoli,
35); Silvestre, (*Pal. Univ.* cited above
Coll. Hisp. (cited above n. 18) plates
e etc. (see above n. 12) fig. 28 (fol. 24);
e n. 14) fig. 397.

18, and L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*
grafía Española (Madrid 1923), and
española (Madrid 1932).

A REDATING OF TWO IMPORTANT UNCIAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GOSPELS—CODEX ZACYNTHIUS AND CODEX CYPRIUS

WILLIAM H. P. HATCH

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Codex Zacynthius (Z, 040, A¹), which is preserved in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London (No. 24), is one of the oldest and most valuable palimpsests of the New Testament. It contains eighty-six vellum leaves and three half-leaves. The former are now about 28 cm. in height and about 18 cm. in width, but originally they probably measured about 35.5 cm. by about 28 cm. The lower writing consists of portions of the Gospel according to St. Luke. The text is written in a single column, and the ink is brown. The present writer has counted as few as two and as many as twenty-one lines on a page. The text is Alexandrian.¹

The gospel text is surrounded on three sides by a catena, and the arrangement of the biblical text and the commentary makes it clear that the two are contemporary. The following writers are quoted in the catena: Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Titus of Bostra, Basil, Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Cyril of Alexandria, Severus of Antioch, and Victor of Antioch. Two of these exegetical authorities, viz. Severus and Victor, flourished in the sixth century; whereas all the others mentioned are earlier in date. This fact is not without significance, as we shall see presently. So far as is known, Codex Zacynthius is the earliest New Testament manuscript that contains a commentary.

The upper writing is a gospel lectionary of the thirteenth century (1 229 Gregory). Besides the eighty-six leaves containing portions of the Third Gospel the lectionary occupies ninety other leaves, which are also vellum. A biblical codex was very rarely taken apart and the text erased in order to provide material for another biblical manuscript. Fresh vellum was nearly always used.

¹ See W. H. P. Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1937).

Codex Zacynthius is commonly ascribed to the eighth century.² This was the conclusion of Dr. Tregelles, who examined the palimpsest with the greatest care and published an entirely satisfactory edition of it.³ Others have accepted this dating without questioning the grounds on which it rests, and thus it has become the established view. Dr. Tregelles, however, was by no means sure that the date which he assigned to the manuscript was right. He himself says: "I only suggest the reasons which make it difficult for me to consider the eighth century (which I at first supposed) to be a settled point, though the more *probable* date."⁴ And again: "I hope that whenever any competent scholar shall reconsider the whole subject of Greek Palaeography, this MS. will receive a due share of attention."⁵ Therefore in reconsidering the date of Codex Zacynthius we are casting no aspersions upon the learning or judgment of the eminent scholar who first studied and made known this invaluable treasure. On the contrary in so doing we are only carrying out his expressed wish.

Dr. Tregelles felt obliged to ascribe the manuscript to the eighth century on account of the laterally compressed and elongated form of the letters $\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$, which he thought to be characteristic of that century. He says: "The *Text* is in round full well-formed Uncial letters, such as I should have had no difficulty in ascribing to the *sixth* century, were it not that the *Catena* of the same age has the round letters ($\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$) so *cramped* as to appear to belong to the *eighth* century."⁶ Again he remarks: "On the one hand, the confined letters of the *Catena* suggest the eighth century; while those of the *Text* are such as we have been accustomed to ascribe to the sixth, and the general absence of accents and breathings, even from the *Catena*, seems hardly compatible with the later date."⁷

In regard to the script of the commentary two things must be said. First, a *catena* accompanying a biblical text and the text itself are often written in different hands, even when they are both

² Cf. F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (London, 1894), I, p. 161; and C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1900-1909), I, p. 90.

³ See S. P. Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius* (London, 1861).

⁴ Cf. S. P. Tregelles, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

⁵ Cf. S. P. Tregelles, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

⁶ Cf. S. P. Tregelles, *op. cit.*, p. ii.

⁷ Cf. S. P. Tregelles, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

the work of the same scribe. A book hand is used for the text, whereas the commentary is written in a less elegant and more ordinary script. The former is calligraphic; the latter is more like the hand employed for everyday purposes. It seemed fitting that the sacred text should appear in a more ancient and less common dress, and it was no small convenience to the reader to have the biblical text clearly distinguished from the catena by being in a different style of writing.

Codex K of the Catholic and Pauline Epistles and Codex X of the Gospels, one of the ninth century and the other of the tenth, illustrate the above-mentioned usage. Each of these manuscripts has the biblical text in uncial letters and the commentary in a minuscule hand.⁸ The same custom is sometimes observed also in minuscule codices. In these the catena is distinguished from the sacred text by being written in smaller minuscule letters.⁹ Unfortunately, with the exception of Codex Zacynthius, there is no New Testament manuscript extant which has both the biblical text and the commentary in uncial script. As was said above, this is the oldest New Testament codex containing a catena; and when it was copied, the minuscule style of writing was not employed for books. The commentary was naturally written in a different kind of uncial script.

The second point to be noted in connection with the handwriting found in the catena is that the crucial letters **ΘΘΟΟ** in equally compressed and elongated form are used in a vellum manuscript which dates from the middle of the seventh century.¹⁰ Therefore it is not necessary, as Dr. Tregelles does, to descend to the eighth century in order to account for the form of these four letters. Moreover, **ΘΘΟΟ** in this shape occur in papyri written as early as the third century before Christ¹¹ and in cursive writing of pre- and post-

⁸ See W. H. P. Hatch, *op. cit.*

⁹ For examples see W. H. P. Hatch, *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament at Mount Sinai* (Paris, 1932), Plates XXI and XXII (Codd. 1878 and 1879, both being parts of the same manuscript); and his, *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris, 1934), Plates II (Cod. 1895), XI (Cod. 1313), XIII (Cod. 1888), and XVIII (Cod. 1312).

¹⁰ British Museum, Add. MS. 17148. See V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie* (second ed., Leipzig, 1911-1913), II, Tafel 2, col. 5.

¹¹ See V. Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, II, Tafel 1, col. 3; and Sir E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912), p. 144, cols. 4-6.

Christian date.¹² The truth is that these letters had assumed the laterally compressed and elongated form long before the sixth century after Christ, and thus written they were used for various purposes. In one of the Wolfenbüttel palimpsests of the gospels, which is rightly ascribed to the sixth century by Tischendorf, the letters **ϞΘΟC** are laterally compressed and elongated not only in the titles of chapters, but also in the biblical text at the end of a line.¹³ Nevertheless, in the sixth and seventh centuries the round forms were usually employed in the sacred text. In the eighth century, however, the laterally compressed and elongated forms were often used in the biblical text,¹⁴ but the round forms did not go entirely out of use.¹⁵ In this period the latter were probably regarded in some quarters as old-fashioned or archaic.

The latest exegetical authorities quoted in the commentary are Severus of Antioch and Victor of Antioch. The former died shortly before the year 540, and the latter flourished about the middle of the sixth century. Hence, in view of the facts mentioned above, we need have no hesitation in ascribing Codex Zacynthius to the sixth century.

It may be possible to determine the date more closely. The treatise of Severus against Julian of Halicarnassus is quoted once in the catena. The controversy which called forth this work arose after the deposition of the author from the see of Antioch in 518, and while both he and Julian were exiles in Egypt. Hence Codex Zacynthius must have been written after the year 518.

Severus is mentioned by name and quoted five times in the commentary. He held and taught the Monophysite doctrine concerning the person of Christ, and he was indeed the foremost champion of his party in the first half of the sixth century. Monophysitism, however, declined rapidly in prestige and influence after the accession of the Emperor Justin in 518, and soon thereafter Severus was deposed from his see and betook himself to Alexandria.

¹² See V. Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, II, Tafel 4a, cols. 1-9 and 14-17; and Sir E. M. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 191 ff.

¹³ Codex P. See C. Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra Inedita* (Leipzig, 1855-1870), III, Tab. II.

¹⁴ The letters **ϞΘΟC** in the later compressed and elongated form are found in the following eighth century manuscripts: Codd. L, Ψ, and 054. See W. H. P. Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament*.

¹⁵ The letters **ϞΘΟC** always have the round form in Codex E. They are round also in the Koridethi MS., which is sometimes ascribed to the eighth century. See W. H. P. Hatch, *op. cit.*

Some years later he was summoned to Constantinople by Justinian, but he and his party soon fell again into disfavor. In 536 he was condemned and anathematized and his writings were proscribed by a synod called by the orthodox patriarch of Constantinople. Justinian promptly confirmed the acts of the synod by an imperial edict, forbade the heresiarch to remain in Constantinople, and ordered his books to be burned. Thereupon Severus retired again to Egypt and died there shortly before the year 540.

Now, as was said above, Severus is quoted five times in the catena of Codex Zacynthius, being designated each time 'Archbishop of Antioch' and being called 'Saint' (ἅγιος) in four cases. After his condemnation by the synod of Constantinople and the emperor's edict in 536 his opinions would certainly not have been quoted with respect, at least in orthodox circles, along with those of Basil and Chrysostom, nor would he himself have been styled 'Archbishop of Antioch' and 'Saint.' There is absolutely no reason for thinking that Codex Zacynthius was written in a heretical quarter, and therefore it would seem probable that it was copied before 536.¹⁶ Severus wrote many letters, sermons, homilies, and theological treatises; and most of them were composed before his condemnation. On textual and palaeographical grounds there is no objection to ascribing Codex Zacynthius to the first half of the sixth century. After the condemnation of Severus some orthodox hand erased his name from the commentary.

However, it must be borne in mind that Victor of Antioch, who is called 'presbyter,' is quoted twice in the catena. He flourished about the middle of the sixth century. If, as is by no means impossible, the exegetical writings of Victor were in circulation before 536, Codex Zacynthius may well have been written between the years 518 and 536. In any case the manuscript was copied sometime in the sixth century.

Codex Cyprius (K, 017, ε71), which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Cod. gr. 63), is one of the more important of the later uncial manuscripts of the Four Gospels. It contains 267 vellum leaves, which are 25 to 25.7 cm. in height and 18.8 to

¹⁶ Dr. Tregelles thought that this possibility should be considered. He says: "It is worthy of inquiry if Ξ may not have been really written before the synod of the year 536, and whether the erasure of the name of Severus did not take place in consequence." Cf. S. P. Tregelles, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

18.9 cm. in width. The text is written in a single column, there are 16 to 31 lines to the page, and the ink is brown.¹⁷

Codex Cyprius is commonly ascribed to the ninth or tenth century.¹⁸ The ninth century seems to the present writer too early, and he believes that it is possible to date the codex within much narrower limits than a hundred years. From the point of view of the text it belongs to a group of manuscripts which has been studied critically by Professor Bousset and Mrs. Lake.¹⁹ The latter has shown that K is, in all probability, descended from mss. which cannot themselves be dated earlier than the end of the tenth century, and therefore on the basis of the text alone Codex Cyprius cannot be assigned to a date prior to this.²⁰

The present writer has reached a similar result by studying the manuscript from the point of view of palaeography. In its general character the script of Codex Cyprius is most like that which is found in manuscripts of the tenth century and the early part of the eleventh. Although differences in the forms of certain letters can be noted, the handwriting of this codex bears a striking general resemblance to that of three gospel lectionaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries, viz. l 296 (saec. X), l 1599 (saec. X), and l 3 (saec. XI).²¹ On the other hand no such likeness exists between Codex Cyprius and any of the leading uncial manuscripts of the New Testament which were written in the ninth century. Moreover, the letters ΒΑΚΑΜΞ ΠΤΦΧΨΩ have forms which are characteristic of the late tenth or the early eleventh century;²² and hence it seems reasonable to ascribe the codex to this period.

Thus the two lines of investigation, the textual and the palaeographical, converge towards the same point, and the conclusion indicated seems irresistible. Therefore it is altogether probable that Codex Cyprius was copied about 1000 A.D.

¹⁷ See W. H. P. Hatch, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Cf. F. H. A. Scrivener, *op. cit.*, I, p. 137 (saec. IX); C. R. Gregory, *op. cit.*, I, p. 54 (saec. IX); and H. Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs en onciale et en minuscule de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IV^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1892), p. 9 and Planche XVII (saec. X). Formerly it was thought to be earlier. Montfaucon assigns it to the seventh or eighth century in one place and in another to about the eighth century. Cf. B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris, 1708), pp. 41 and 231.

¹⁹ See W. Bousset in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, XI, 4, pp. 111 ff.; and S. Lake, *The Text of Family II and the Codex Alexandrinus* (London, 1936), *Studies and Documents*, Vol. V.

²⁰ Cf. S. Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 26, 29 and 36.

²¹ See W. H. P. Hatch, *op. cit.*

²² See V. Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, II, Tafel 3, cols. 5-7.

EIN BLATT AUS EINER ANTIKEN WELTCHRONIK

HANS LIETZMANN

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Das Berliner Museum besitzt in seiner Papyrussammlung unter Nr. 13296 ein stark zerstörtes und nur auf einer Seite lesbares Pergamentblatt (28×16 cm.), das sich bei näherer Prüfung als Rest einer antiken Weltchronik herausstellt. Im Jahre 1905 haben Adolf Bauer und Joseph Strzygowski mehrere Blätter einer im 5. Jh. auf Papyrus geschriebenen Weltchronik ediert (Papyrus Golenitschew), die nicht nur wegen ihres Textes wertvoll, sondern vor allem um ihrer Illustrationen willen von grosser Bedeutung ist. Unser Blättchen ergibt sich als eine volle Parallele zu diesem Werk, freilich in allerbescheidenstem Ausmass: es ist ein Buch von demselben Typ gewesen, aber kleiner im Format, bescheidener in der Ausstattung, primitiver in den Bildern. So sah ein historischer Hauskalender aus, den sich eine bildungsbeflissene, aber nicht mit Gütern gesegnete Familie anschaffen konnte.

Mommsen hat im ersten Band der *Chronica minora* (*Monumenta Germaniae, auctores antiquissimi IX*, 1892) die beiden Haupttypen dieser Chroniken übersichtlich ediert. Er nennt den einen die *Consularia Constantinopolitana* (p. 205–247), deren Hauptzeugen die sogenannten *Fasti Hydatiani* (lateinisch) und die entsprechenden Angaben des *Chronicon Paschale* (griechisch) sind. Diesem Werk liegt eine ältere stadtrömische Chronik zu Grunde, die in Konstantinopel weitergeführt ist. Der zweite Typ wird von Mommsen als *Consularia Italica* bezeichnet und liegt in drei Hauptfassungen vor: dem "*Chronicon Cuspiniani*" d. h. den *Fasti Vindobonenses priores*, einer kürzeren als *Fasti Vindobonenses posteriores* überschriebenen, und dem ausführlicheren Text des *Barbarus Scaligeri*: dazu treten später noch der *Anonymus Valesianus* und *Agnellus*. Dieser zweite Typ beruht auf dem erstgenannten, ist aber in Italien weitergeführt und später in Ravenna fortgesetzt worden. Der *Barbarus Scaligeri* bringt einen Text, der in Alexandria benützt und durch dortige Lokalnotizen, ägyptische Tagesdaten und Angabe der jeweiligen *Augustales* d. h. der *Praefecti Aegypti* erweitert ist. Diese ägypt-

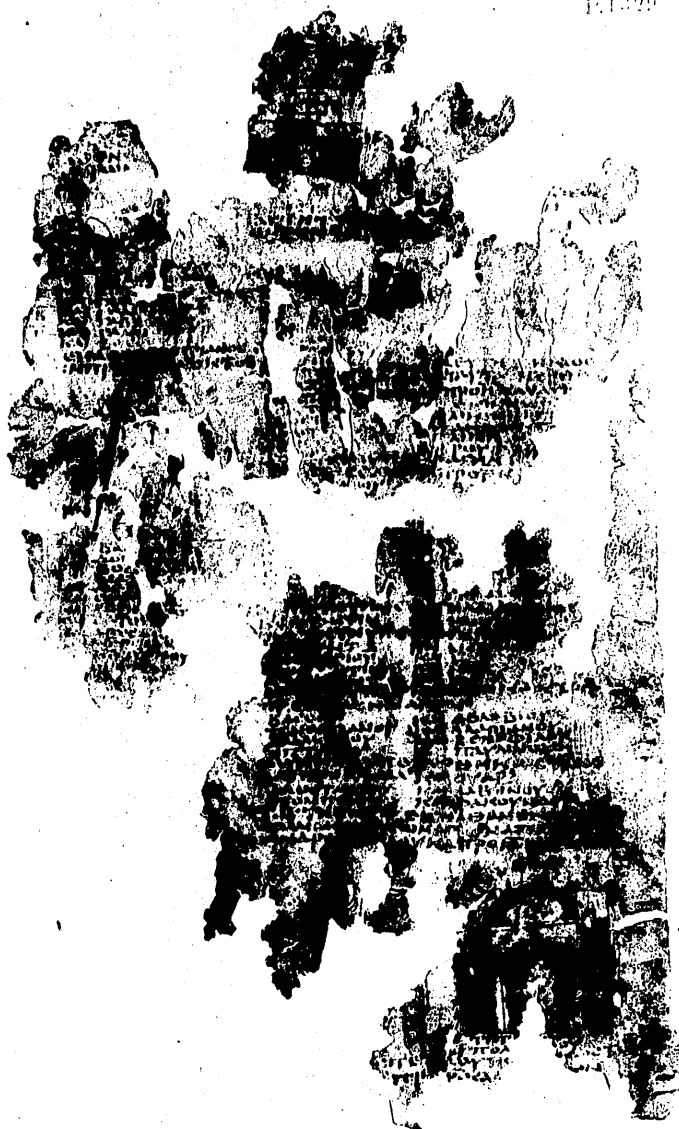
tische Ausgabe war mit Bildern geschmückt, wie jetzt immer deutlicher wird. Die Handschrift des Barbarus bringt die Bilder zwar nicht, lässt aber jeweils Platz für die einzelnen Illustrationen frei und hat gelegentlich auch ihre Beischriften erhalten. Der Papyrus Golenitschev hat den Text in Verkürzung samt den Bildern erhalten und gibt so die beste Vorstellung von dem Aussehen dieser Chronik. Dazu tritt jetzt unser Fragment, welches den ebenfalls verkürzten Text und die Bilder bringt und zwar in den Teilen, die den Cons. Italica entnommen sind: das sind die Angaben über die Jahre 251–306 und 335–338, d. h. das Hauptstück des Blattes. Mitten hineingesprengt ist die 306–334 umfassende Partie: diese stammt aus den Cons. Cpolit. und hat keine Bilder. Vermutlich ist diese Einlage durch eine mechanische Zerstörung der Vorlage unseres Schreibers veranlasst worden. Sein Exemplar war hinter 306 lückenhaft, und so griff er zu einem andern Kalender, um das Fehlende zu ergänzen. Dadurch erklärt sich auch, dass bei der Flickarbeit die Jahre 307–311 ausgefallen sind.

Unsere Chronik läuft auch in Bezug auf die Bilder dem Barbarus parallel, aber bringt, ebenso wie beim Text, nur eine Auswahl. Ich stelle die Gegenstände übersichtlich nebeneinander, wobei ich für den Barbarus den zeilengetreuen Abdruck in A. Schoene's Ausgabe der Eusebianischen Chronik, Bd. 1, S. 233 f. benutze und Strzygowski's Deutungen, S. 142 zu Rate ziehe.

<i>Chron. Berol.</i>	<i>Barbarus</i>
251 Passion des Laurentius	diese Seiten fehlen in der Hs.
258 Passion des Cyprianus	
305 Diokletian zerstört Kirchen?	302 Diokletian zerstört Kirchen
306 Passion des Timotheus	304 Passion des Timotheus
	318 Konstantins Söhne. ¹ Gründung Kpels
	320 Kreuzauffindung
	325 Bischof Alexander
	Konzil von Nicaea
	Mumie Alexanders
	Athanasius
336 Translation der Reliquien des Andreas und Lukas	336 Translation der Reliquien des Andreas und Lukas

Die Bilder sind als Strichzeichnungen mit spitzer Feder ausgeführt und dann koloriert worden: aber nur geringe Reste der Farben

¹ Das von Strzygowski davor vermutete Bild des Konstantin ist möglich, der Untergang des Maximus aber kaum den 3 Zeilen Raum entsprechend.



Berliner Museum, Papyrus Nr. 13296

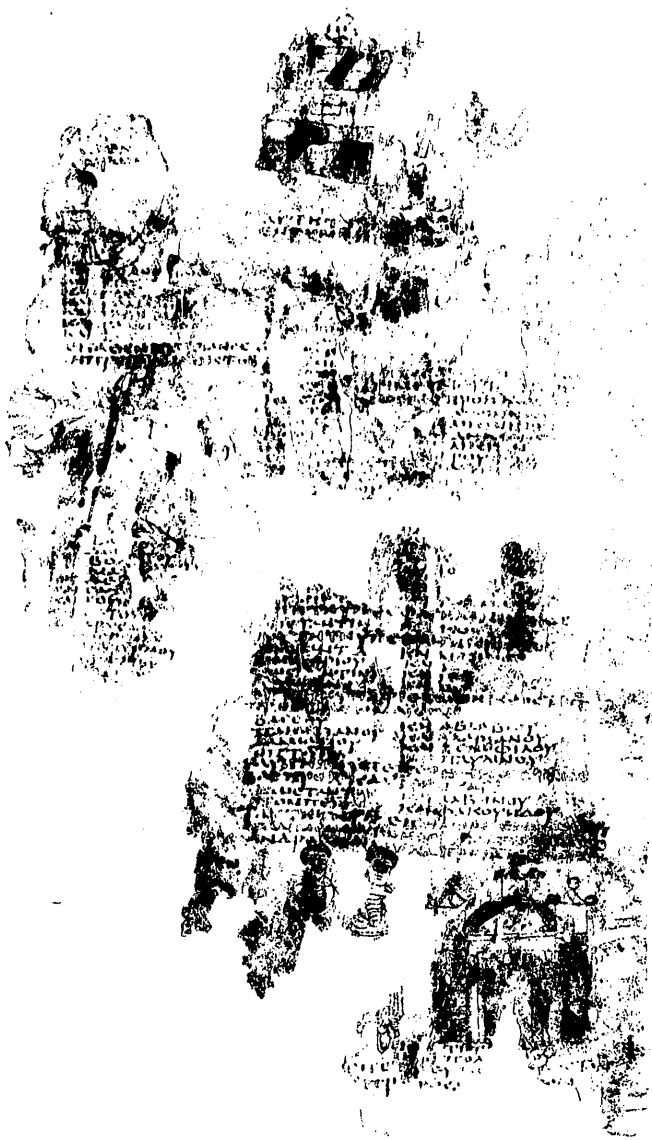
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¹ Das von Strzygowski davor vermutete Bild des Konstantin ist möglich, der Untergang des Maximus aber kaum den 3 Zeilen Raum entsprechend.



Berliner Museum, Papyrus Nr. 13296

sind noch zu erkennen oder vielmehr aus ihrer Einwirkung auf das Pergament zu erschliessen. Das erste Bild zeigt den Märtyrer Laurentius, und zwar im Brustbild. Er hat ein bartloses jugendliches Gesicht und trägt kurzgeschnittenes Haar. Bekleidet ist er mit einer durch Clavi gezierten Tunika, deren Ärmel eng das Gelenk umschliessen. Die Hände sind zum Gebet erhoben,—eine ist freilich mit dem Pergament verloren gegangen. Die Verkürzung einer Figur zum Kopf- oder Brustbild ist auch in der altchristlichen Kunst sehr beliebt: die Medaillonreihen der Lipsanothek von Brescia und der alten Paulskirche zu Rom sind bekannte Zeugnisse dafür. Desgleichen die Büsten, die in der Mitte der Mosaikfelder den Rundgang von S. Constanza schmücken oder die Porträtfiguren in den Clipei der Sarkophage. Der Verstorbene als Orans ist eine der ersten christlichen Schöpfungen, und die Darstellung des Märtyrers als Orans die einfache Konsequenz aus dieser Vorstellung: auf römischen Goldgläsern findet man die hl. Agnes besonders oft in dieser Haltung. Aber im Ganzen ist sie eine Seltenheit.

Das zweite Bild soll das Martyrium des hl. Cyprian darstellen: es ist aber so zerstört, dass kaum etwas Sicheres gesehen werden kann.

Links glaube ich den vor die Brust gehobenen rechten Arm eines mit enger Ärmeltunika bekleideten Mannes zu erkennen, rechts unten einen Fuss, die Bauchlinie und einen wagerecht sich aufstützenden Unterarm eines am Boden liegenden Menschen, also wohl des Cyprian. Zwischen beiden ein nach oben sich verbreiternder Gegenstand, vielleicht die Fases.

Bild 3 ist durch Flecken und Verlust des Pergaments zum völligen Rätsel geworden, und die darüber stehenden Buchstaben $\sigma\alpha\phi$ geben auch keinen brauchbaren Fingerzeig. Die rechtwinkligen Linien könnten eine Stadt ergeben: über dem Tor ist ein rechteckiges Fenster mit Kreuzgitter; aus einem Gebäude innerhalb des Halbrundes der Mauer schlagen zwei Flammengarben. Aber das ist nur unsichere Vermutung.

Bild 4 mit der Passion des Timotheus ist ganz zerstört.

Bild 5 zeigt links die Köpfe und Schultern von zwei Männern, welche offenbar die Reliquien der Heiligen Andreas und Lukas tragen; von dem rechten ist auch noch ein sandalbekleideter Fuss erhalten. Die Stadt Kpel. ist in der verkürzten Form dargestellt: ein grosses Tor mit wagerechtem Türsturz, flankiert von zwei über der Mauer sich erhebenden Türmen, deren dreieckig gezeichnete

Dächer an jeder Ecke eine Kugel tragen. Ein Halbkreis stellt den übrigen Mauerring dar; gegenüber dem Tor steht ein dritter Turm.

Ob der Zeichner auch versucht hat, im Innern der Stadt Gebäude anzudeuten, ist nicht mehr sicher zu erkennen. Diese auf die Grundelemente reduzierte und das Tor in den Vordergrund schiebende Form der schematischen Stadtdarstellung begegnet uns um 400 vielfach; insbesondere ist sie in den Mosaiken von S. Maria Maggiore in Rom beliebt und findet sich da sowohl in den Bildern des Langhauses als auch auf dem Triumphbogen des Xystus: Beispiele bei Wilpert, die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien, Bd. 3, Taf. 9, 13^a, 18, vgl. 23^b, 24^b, und dann Taf. 61–62, 66–68, 73, wo auch die Kugeln auf den dreieckigen Turmdächern zu beachten sind.

Die Schrift weist des Blatt etwa ins endende vierte oder beginnende fünfte Jahrhundert: es ist also den genannten Mosaiken von S. Maria Maggiore gleichaltrig und jedenfalls erheblich älter als der Papyrus Golenitschev. Die Konsullisten waren mit gewöhnlicher schwarzer Tinte geschrieben, die chronistischen Notizen sind sämtlich in etwas breiteren Zeilen und mit roter Tinte geschrieben.

W. Schubart hat den Text als Erster gelesen und zwar zu einer Zeit, wo er noch deutlicher erkennbar war als jetzt: er hat mir freundlichst erlaubt, seine Abschrift zu benützen und hat fragliche Stellen noch einmal gemeinsam mit mir nachgeprüft. Ich sage ihm dafür herzlichen Dank, ebenso auch für die Überlassung einer Photographie, die dem Beschauer doch auch Einzelheiten vermittelt. Ich gebe nun den Text und lasse ihm Anmerkungen folgen.

251 [Δεκίου β] και Κέσα[ρος Δεκίου]
[ταύτη τῇ ὑπ. ἔπ]αθεν [Λαυρέντιος]
[ὁ διάκονος] ἐν 'Ρώμ[ῃ] πρὸ δ' ἰδ. Αὐγ.]

Bild 1

252 [Γάλλου] και Βολου[σ]ιανοῦ
253 [Βολουσιανοῦ β] και Μαξ[ίμου]
254 [Βαλεριανοῦ] και Γαλλι[ενοῦ]
255 [Βαλεριανοῦ] β και Γαλλιενοῦ β
256 [Μαξίμου] και Γαβρίονος
257 [Βαλεριανοῦ] γ και Γαλλιενοῦ γ
258 [Τούσκου] και Βάσσου
[ταύτη τῇ ὑπ. ἔ]παθεν Κυπριανὸς
[ἐν Καρθαγέ]ννη πρὸ ιη καλ. 'Οκτωβ.

Bild 2

259	[Αἰμλιανοῦ] καὶ Βά[σσ]ου β̂
260	[Σεκουλαρίου] καὶ Δο[ν]άτου
261	[Γαλλιανοῦ δ̂] καὶ Βο[λουσ]ιανοῦ
262	[Γαλλιανοῦ ε̂] καὶ Μαξ[ί]μου
263	['Αλβίνου] καὶ Δέξ[τρ]ου
264	[Γαλλιανοῦ ζ̂] καὶ Σατο[υρ]νί[νου]
265	[Βαλεριανοῦ δ̂] καὶ Δουκ[ί]λλ[ου]
266	[Γαλλιανοῦ ξ̂] καὶ Σατουρ[νίνου β̂]
267	[Πατέρνου] καὶ 'Αρχελά[ου]
268	[Πατέρνου β̂] καὶ Μαρινια[νοῦ]
269	[Κλαυδίου καὶ] Πατέρνου γ̂]
270	[Ἀντιωχιανοῦ καὶ] 'Ορφίτου

.....
ταύτη] τῇ ὑπ.

]σ αφ]

Bild 3

306	Κωσταν[τίου ζ̂ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ξ̂] <u>ταύτη τῇ ὑπ. ἔπ[αθε]ν [Τιμόθεος]</u> <u>ἐν 'Ρώμῃ πρὸ ἰ καλ. 'Ιο[υλλίω]ν</u>
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Bild 4

	<u>[ταύ]τη τῇ ὑπ. ἐτελεύτη[σε]ν Κωσ-</u> <u>[τάν]τιος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγέρθη</u> <u>Κωσταντίνος βασ. πρὸ ἦ καλ. Αὐγ.</u>
312	Κωσταντ[ί]νου β̂] καὶ Δικιννίου
313	Κωσταν[τίνου γ̂ καὶ] Δικιννίου [β̂]
314	Βολουσι[ανῶ] β̂] καὶ 'Αννιαν[οῦ]
315	[Κωσταντίνου δ̂ καὶ] Δικινν[ί]ου γ̂]
316	[Σαβίνου] κ[α]ί 'Ρουφίν[ου]
	<u>ταύτη τῇ ὑπ. ἐσφάγη Διο[κλή]-</u> <u>[τιαν]ὸς εἰς Σαλῶνα πρὸ γ̂ ν[ων. Δεκ.]</u>
317	[Γαλλικανοῦ καὶ] Βά[σσου]

.....

325	<u>[ταύ]τῃ τῇ ὑπ. ἐσφάγη Λικίννιος</u>
326	<u>[Κ]ωσταντίνου καὶ Κωσταντ. ταύτῃ τῇ ὑπ. ἐσφάγη Κρίσπος</u>
327	<u>Κωσταντ. δ καὶ Μαξίμου</u>
328	<u>Ἴανο[να]ρίου καὶ Ἴ[ο]ψστ[ου]</u>
329	<u>Κωσ[τα]ντίνου καὶ Κ[ωσταντίνου]</u>
330	<u>[Γα]λλικανοῦ καὶ Οὔ[α]λερίου [τ]αύτῃ τῇ ὑπ. ἀφιερῶθη Κωστ. πο. πρὸ εἰδῶν Ματῶν</u>
331	<u>Βάσσου καὶ Ἀβλαβίου</u>
332	<u>Πακατιανοῦ καὶ Ἰλαριανοῦ</u>
333	<u>Δαλματίου καὶ Ζενοφίλου</u>
334	<u>Ὀπτάτου κ[αί] Παυλίνου ταύτῃ τῇ ὑπ. ἐγέρθη Κώσταντ. βασ. πρὸ ἧ καλ. Ἰανουαρ.</u>
335	<u>Κωσταντίου καὶ Ἀλβίνου</u>
336	<u>Πομπείανου καὶ Φακούνδου ταύτῃ τῇ ὑπ. εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Κωστ. πο. τὰ λιμψανα τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων Ἀνδρέα καὶ Λουκᾶ πρὸ ιᾶ καλ. Ἰουλ.</u>

Bild 5

337	<u>[Φηλικιανῶ] καὶ Τιτι[αν]οῦ</u>
338	<u>[Οὔρσου] καὶ Πολ[εμί]ου [ταύτῃ τῇ] ὑπ. ἐτελεύτησ[εν] Κωσταν- [τίνος] πρὸ ιᾶ καλ. Ἰουνί]ων</u>

251 Die Spuren der Buchstaben *κεσ* führen auf die im Text gegebene Ergänzung, welche dem überwiegend bezeugten Tatbestand entspricht. Die *Consularia Italica*, p. 289, haben *Decio II et Rustico*. Die folgende chronistische Notiz muss ein Martyrium in Rom anzeigen, das geht aus den lesbaren Resten mit Sicherheit hervor. Dann ist angesichts der sonstigen Übereinstimmung unseres Textes mit den *Cons. Ital.* das wahrscheinlichste, dass eine Anmerkung wie die der *Fasti Vind. priores* hier gestanden hat: *his cons. passus est sanctus Laurentius III idus Aug.* Für die ausführlichere Fassung der *Vind. post.*, die übrigens die Notizen 356 bringen, reicht der Platz nicht aus: *his consul. passus est Sixtus*

episcopus et Laurentius diaconus Romae VIII Idus Augustas. Unser Text ist nach beiden Quellen rekonstruiert: doch liegt keine Veranlassung vor, das falsche Tagesdatum zu übernehmen: Laurentius ist am 10 Aug. = IV id. Aug. gestorben: VIII id. Aug. = 6 Aug. ist der Tag der Sixtus. Aber der Fehler im Jahresansatz ist nicht zu beseitigen: der Tod des Laurentius ist 258 erfolgt und hat mit der Decianischen Verfolgung keinen Zusammenhang. Im *Liber pontificalis* (I p. 34, 14 ed. Mommsen) wird in einer Zusatzbemerkung der Tod des Sixtus gleichfalls in die decianische Verfolgung gelegt, obwohl der Haupttext ganz richtig von Valerian spricht.

255 Die Cons. Ital. machen hier Konfusion durch Auslassung eines Konsulats: unser Text ist richtig.

256 lies *Γλαβρίωνος*.

258 Die Notiz ergänzt nach Cons. Ital. p. 289: *his consulibus passus est Cyprianus in Carthagine xviii Kl. Octobris*. Statt des in klassischer Zeit gebrauchten Namens *Καρχηδών* begegnet in späterer Zeit auch *Καρθαγέννα* oder *Καρθαγέννα*, z. B. in den Ephesinischen Konzilsakten (Vgl. *Acta Graeca*, fasc. 8, p. 28, ed. Schwartz) oder bei Theophanes Chron. p. 186, 25, 370, 10 de Boor.).

262 *Gallieno V et Faustino* (oder *Faustiniano*) haben die Chroniken in Übereinstimmung mit den übrigen Zeugen. Des *Μαξιμου* unseres Textes ist wohl aus einer Variante zu *Dextro* entstanden, die in einer Vorlage über dies Wort geschrieben war: Prosper's Chronik p. 441 hat nämlich zu 263 *Albino et Maximo* statt des richtigen *Albino et Dextro*.

265 P hat richtig *Λουκιλλου* = *Lucillo*: Vind. prior. hat durch Verschreibung *Lolliano*.

266 Dagegen ist in diesem Konsulat *Σατουρνίνου* wohl versehentlich aus 264 herübergenommen: *Sabinillo* muss es heissen.

267 *Ἀρχελάου* ist verschrieben statt *Ἀρχεσιλάου* = *Archesilao*: Vind. post. = *Arcesilao*.

268 P ist von den Fehlern *Mariano* Vind. prior. und *Marino* Vind. post. frei.

270–304 fehlen die Konsulatsangaben durch Zerstörung des Pergaments: es sind also mindestens 35 Zeilen ausgefallen, vermutlich aber mehr, da zu 303 und 304 chronistische Notizen analog den in die Cons. Ital. eingeschobenen gewesen sein werden. Der Ausfall ist auf der abgerissenen linken Hälfte des Blattes und auf dem fehlenden Oberteil der rechten Hälfte unterzubringen. Für weitere Bilder ist freilich kein Platz anzunehmen.

305 Die Konsulatsangabe ist zerstört: von dem chronistischen Notat ist ausser dem $\tau\eta$ der Einleitungsformel nur $\alpha\phi$ erhalten. Vermutlich stand hier ein Hinweis auf die Diokletianische Verfolgung.

306 Die Konsulatsangabe ist durch die ersten Buchstaben sicher gestellt, und die darauf folgende Passionsnotiz entspricht der in den Fasti Vind. prior. p. 291 erhaltenen Angabe *his cons. passus est Timotheus Romae X Kl. Jul.* Die fasti Vind. post. bringen dasselbe mit der Variante *X kl. Septemb.*, aber zum Jahre 303. Der Chronograph von 354 notiert zum XI Kal. Sept. *Timothei Ostense* und das Carthaginische Martyrolog zu demselben Datum *sancti Timothei*. Fügen wir hinzu, dass der Barbarus Scaligeri p. 291 anlässlich der diokletianischen Verfolgung des Jahres 304 berichtet *et multi martyrizaverunt, in quibus et Timotheus episcopus in Carthagine gloriose martyrizavit*, so ist unser Quellenmaterial über diesen Timotheus erschöpft. Und es ist so unsicher, dass man eben nur die Geschichtlichkeit dieses Martyriums in der diokletianischen Verfolgung, und zwar an einem 22. August, daraus entnehmen kann. Als Ort ist Rom wohl durch die Grabangabe des Chronogr. von 354 gesichert: dann erscheint die Mitteilung des Barbarus über die Bischofswürde und das Karthagische Martyrium des Timotheus als spätere Erdichtung. Auch Delehaye in seinem Kommentar zu Quentin's Ausgabe des Martyrologium Hieronymianum (Acta Sanct. Nov. tom. 2 pars 2, p. 456 f.) äussert sich sehr zurückhaltend. Die zweite Notiz findet ihre genaue Parallele in den Cons. Constantinopolitana p. 231 zum selben Jahre 306 *his cons. diem functus Constantius et postea levatus est Constantinus VIII. k. Aug.* Das ist zutreffend: Konstantius ist am 25. Juli 306 gestorben und sein Sohn Konstantin am gleichen Tag noch zum Kaiser ausgerufen worden. Mit dieser Note geht der Schreiber zu der neuen Vorlage über, die er erst bei 334 verlässt.

307–310 Die Konsularreihe dieser Jahre ist ausgefallen.

314 Die fast. Vind. prior. stellen 315. 314 um.

316 Diesem Jahr ist eine chronistische Notiz beigegeben die in den Cons. Cpolit. p. 231 eine Parallele hat: *his cons. diem functus est Dioclitianus Salona III n. Dec.* Aber Diokletian ist am 3. Dez. 316 gestorben und nicht gewaltsam getötet worden ($\epsilon\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$), wie unser Text behauptet: das hätte sich Lactantius nicht entgehen lassen. Aber auch er berichtet de mort. persec. 42 nur davon, dass der Kummer über die politischen Ereignisse ihn zum Verzicht auf

Nahrung und Schlafgetrieben und so getötet habe. Bei unserem Text scheint die Phantasie in seinem Tod ein Analogon zu anderen göttlichen Strafgerichten gesehen (Licinius!) zu haben.

319–325 Die Konsularreihen sind zerstört, nur einzelne *kal* sind zu entziffern.

325 Die Chroniknotiz wie Cons. Cpol. p. 232 *his cons. occisus Licinius*.

326 Ebenso Cons. Cpol. p. 232 *his cons. occisus est Crispus*.

327 *Constantio* lösen die übrigen Zeugen den Namen auf. Aber es war sein erstes Konsulat, sodass die Zahl 4 hinter dem Namen ein Irrtum ist. Ähnliche Konfusion macht das Chron. pasch. in diesen Jahren durch falsche Auflösung der ähnlichen Namen dieser Dynastie.

330 Die zweite Konsul heisst Tullianus Symmachus Valerius, und in den meisten Listen wird er Symmachus genannt (vgl. Chron. min. 3, 520: hier ist allein Valerius gesagt.) Cons. Cpol. p. 233: *his cons. dedicata est Constantinopoli die V idus Mai*.

334 Cons. Cpol. p. 234 notieren *his cons. levatus est Constans die VIII K. Jan.*, aber zum Konsulat von 333, und das ist richtig. Die Chroniken variieren mannigfach vgl. Clinton Fasti Romani z. J. 333.

336 *Πομπειανοῦ* ist Entstellung des richtigen und in den übrigen Chroniken stehenden *Nepotiano*: möglicherweise geht die Form zurück auf eine ursprünglich vollständigere Namensnennung ähnlich der auf Münzen begegnenden *Fl. Pop(i)lius Nepotianus*.

Die Translation von Reliquien der Apostel Andreas und Lukas berichten zu demselben Konsulat die fasti Vind. prior. (*his consulibus introierunt Constantinopolim Lucas et Andreas*) und der Barbarus p. 293: *hisdem consulibus translati sunt in Constantinopolim sanctus Andreas apostolus et sanctus Lucas evangelista X. Kl. Julias*. Hier ist deutlich, wie unser griechischer Text beiden Fassungen zu Grunde liegt, Vind. hat ihn verkürzt, Barbarus erweitert. Die fasti Vind. post. haben aus der Translation eine Passion gemacht, was ganz lehrreich ist: dem entsprechend ist auch das traditionelle Datum des 30. Nov. beigeschrieben. Die Unsinnigkeit des Ansatzes einer apostolischen Passion auf das Jahr 335—dahin versetzen sie Vind. post.—hat den Schreiber nicht gestört. Das richtige Datum des Kirchenfestes ist der 20. Juni, vgl. Synaxarium eccles. Cpolit. ed. Delehaye p. 759 (Acta Sanct. Nov. Propylaeum); also ist *XII. Kal. Jul.* zu lesen. Aber wir lernen

endlich aus dem Synaxar, dass es sich nur um Translation der aufgefundenen "Röcke und Mäntel" dieser Heiligen handelt und dass auch analoge Reliquien der Apostel Johannes und Thomas sowie das Propheten Elias und eines Märtyrers Lazarus gleichzeitig in der Apostelkirche beigesetzt wurden. Dagegen fand die Überführung der Leichname der Apostel Andreas und Lukas in die Apostelkirche am 3. März 357 statt in naher zeitlicher Verbindung mit dem Leichnam des Timotheus, wie aus den Cons. Cpolit. p. 239, dem Synaxar p. 266 sowie dem Zeugnis des Philostorgius hist. eccl. 3, 2 p. 31 Bidez und Theodorus Lector 2, 61 hervorgeht: vgl. auch die Nachahmung in Fondi Paulinus Nol. ep. 32, 17 p. 292, 25 Hartel: derselbe Paulinus verwechselt auch bereits die beiden Translationen, indem er der Überführung der Leiche dem Konstantin zuschreibt carm. 19, 329, 336. Mommsen, dem das Synaxar noch nicht bekannt war, hat unserem Chronisten eine Verwechselung Schuld gegeben (p. 256, 258): das ist nun zu berichtigen.

338 Den Tod Konstantins schreiben die Cons. Cpol. p. 235 richtig dem Jahre 337 zu: *his cons. Constantinus Aug. ad caelestia regna ablatu est die XI Kal. Jun.* In unserem Text liegt ein Schreibfehler vor.

PORTIONS OF AN OLD-LATIN TEXT OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

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That St. Jerome in his commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel did not quote the Gospel text *in extenso* would not be readily apparent to a casual reader of the Vallarsi edition reprinted by Migne. It is true that Vallarsi says in a note at the beginning: "quae hinc subsequuntur Scripturae verba, *Abraham genuit*, etc. in nostris mss. desiderantur, quibus solemne est, ea duntaxat perferre commata, quae subsequens expositio enarret." But so distinguished a scholar as C. H. Turner appears to have overlooked this note, for he writes: "it seems that Vallarsi, whether with or without MS. authority, habitually prolongs the *lemmata* beyond the point at which our (i.e. the Worcester) fragments and the other MSS. which I have consulted conclude them, and the passages thus inserted are of course borrowed from the Vulgate."¹ It has become perfectly clear from a complete collation I have made of the six oldest manuscripts that St. Jerome copied out only the parts of the Gospel on which he had something especially to say.

Four of these six manuscripts agree in the omission of particular portions of the Gospel on which Jerome made no comments. So also do the other two, for the most part, but these two manuscripts, which are related to one another, Boulogne 47 (saec. viii, formerly at Arras), and Rome Vat. Pal. 177² (saec. ix, formerly at Lorsch), do occasionally make additions to the passages quoted by Jerome, and the interesting fact about these additions is that they are made from an Old-Latin, not from a Vulgate manuscript. I wish we could say with certainty where these additions were made, in a common ancestor of our two manuscripts, but the evidence does not seem sufficient to settle the question with certainty. I have

¹ *Early Worcester MSS*, by C. H. Turner (Oxford, 1916) p. xv.

² I gratefully acknowledge the help of Mr. Robert J. Getty in the collation of rotographs of this MS, the cost of which was kindly paid from the Craven Fund of the University of Cambridge, England.

copied the passages below and have made a sort of apparatus to them from Vogels' valuable *Vulgatastudien* (Münster i. W. 1928), in the effort to arrive at a conclusion. That the manuscript of the Gospel used by this interpolator was Old-Latin, not Vulgate, is perfectly clear, if only from xx, 28a-c, which verses are not in the Vulgate at all. I offer the text, such as it is, as a small tribute to the great scholar in whose honor this volume is published.

(The portions of text which Jerome himself actually copied out are not precisely Vulgate, but are closely akin to it, as appears from a tentative study of them I have already made.)

(i, 23) filium et uocabunt eius nomen emmanuhel quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus

~ nomen eius *ut vg*

(ii, 2) et uenimus adorare eum

(ii, 19-20) defunctum autem herode ecce apparuit angelus Domini in somnis ioseph in aegypto dicens surge et accipe puerum et matrem eius et uade in terram israhel

app. ang. dom. *b vg* ~ ang. Dom. app. *a g q*
~ ios. in somn. *g* et (1°) *om. q*

(ii, 22) timuit illuc ire

illuc *g q vg* illo *a b*

(viii, 8) et respondens centurio ait domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum sed tantum dic uerbo et sanabitur puer meus

ait] dixit *q + illi a b g*
puer meus *om. a (?)* meus *om. b*

(viii, 9) et alio ueni et uenit et seruo meo dico fac nos et facit

et (1°) *om. a* alii *q* dico *om. q vg*

(viii, 11) dico autem uobis quod

quoniam *q*

(xvi, 25) qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluam facere perdet eam qui enim perdiderit animam suam propter me inueniet eam

quid enim prodest homini si hunc mundum lucretur animae
uero suae detrimentum patiatur

saluam faceret *ff* saluare *q*
enim] autem *vt vg* prode est *a b ff* proderit *q*
hunc mundum] totum mundum *a ff* uniuersum
mundum *g* mundum uniuersum *vg* lucrificiat *b*
~ suae uero *a* om uero *ff*

(xvii, 14) et cum uenisset ad turbam accessit ad eum homo genibus
prouolutus (-is) ante eum dicens

uenisse *b* uenissent *q* homo] quidam *g*
prouolutus *b q vg* prouolutis *ff*
ante eum] + rogans eum et *b*

(xvii, 17) adferte huc illum ad me

adducite hoc *a* afferte mihi illum huc *q*

(xvii, 27) ut autem non scandalizemus eos

(xviii, 89) bonum tibi est in uitam (~ in uitam est) uenire debilem
clodum quam duos pedes uel duas manus habentem mitti in
ignem aeternum et si oculus tuus scandalizat te erue eum et
proice abs te bonum tibi est unum oculum habentem in uitam
aeternam intrare quam duos oculos habentem mitti in gehen-
nam ignis

est *om. ff* in] ad *vg* uenire] ingredi *vg*
debilem] + uel *vt vg* ~ duas manus uel duos pedes *vg*
tuus *om. a* ~ oc. un. *a* unum oculum habentem]
unoculum *vg* aeternam *om. vt vg* intrare] uenire *a b g*

(xviii, 10-11) mei qui in caelis est uenit filius hominis saluare quod
perierat

uenit] *b* + enim *ff g q vg* + autem *a*

(xviii, 13) et si contigerit ut inueniat eam amen dico uobis quod
gaudebit in ea (eam) magis quam in nonaginta nouem quae
errauerunt

quia *vg* in] super *g vg* in 2°] super *vg*

(xviii, 15-17) solum si te audierit lucratus eris fratrem tuum si

autem non audierit adhibe tecum adhuc unum uel duos ut in ore duum testimonium uel trium stet omne uerbum quod si non audierit eos dic ecclesiae si autem ecclesiam non audierit sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus

eris] es *g g* autem] + et *vg* non *q* non te *vt vg*
 adhuc] *om ff* + et *a* duum *q* duorum *vt vg*
 ~ uel trium testimonium *ff g q* sicut] tamquam *q*

(xvii, 22) dicit illi iesus non dico tibi usque septies sed usque septuagies septies

(xviii, 24) et cum coepisset rationem ponere

(xviii, 25-34) cum autem non haberet unde redderet, iussit eum dominus eius uenum dari et uxorem (-es) eius et filios et omnia quae habuit et reddi debitum procidens autem seruus ille orabat eum dicens patientiam habe in me et omnia reddam tibi misertus (+est) autem dominus serui illius dimisit eum et debitum remisit illi egressus autem seruus ille inuenit unum ex conseruis suis qui debebat ei centum denarios et tenens suffocabat eum dicens redde quod debes et procidens conseruus eius rogabat eum dicens patientiam habe in me et reddam tibi ille autem noluit sed habuit et misit eum in carcerem donec redderet debitum uidentes autem conserui eius quae fiebant contristati sunt et uenerunt et nuntiauerunt domino suo omnia quae facta erant tunc uocauit eum dominus suus et ait illi nequam serue omne debitum remisit tibi quia rogasti me (me rogasti) non ergo oportuit te quoque misereri conseruo tuo sic ut et ego tui misertus sum et iratus est dominus eius et tradidit eum tortoribus quoad usque redderet uniuersum debitum

dominus *om. g* eius *om. a vg* habebat *vt vg* debitum *om. vg* autem] ergo *g* ille *om. q* + ad pedes domini sui *a* adorabat *q* dicens] + domine *ff g q* tibi *om. b ff* ~ tibi reddam *q* est *om. vt vg* remisit] dimisit *g q r vg* illi *g ei vt vg* ex] de *g vg* et reddam] et omnia reddam *q vg* eius] illius *bq* sunt] + ualde *g q vg* nunti.] narr. *vt vg* enarr. *q* erant] fuerant *g sunt q* eum *a b g* illum *ff q vg* ~ serue nequa (nequam) *vt vg* dimisi *g vg* quoniam *vt vg* rogasti me *vt vg* te] et te *a q vg* quoque *om g q vg*

conserui tui *q vg* et ego] ego *g* est *om. vt vg* eius
om a et *om vt vg*

(xix, 1-2) et factum est cum locutus esset sermones istos iesus
 transtulit se a galilaea et uenit in finibus iudaeae (+ et) trans
 iordanem et secutae sunt eum turbae multae et curauit eos ibi
 consum(m)asset *q vg* ~ serm. ist. ies. *a b*
 ies. serm. ist. *ff g q vg* migravit *vg* finibus *a ff*
 fines *b g q vg* et *a, om. vt vg*

(xix, 4) et respondens iesus ait
 et resp. ies.] qui resp. *vg* ait] + eis *g q vg*

(xix, 28) et vos
sic vt vg: om. codd. Hieron. A C E F

(xx, 14) uolo autem et huic nouissimo dare sicut et tibi
 et 1° et 2° *om. q*

(xx, 16) Sic erunt nouissimi primi et primi nouissimi (~ nouissimi
 primi) multi autem sunt uocati pauci uero electi
 autem sunt *q]* sunt enim *vt vg* uero *ff* autem *vt vg*

(xx, 22) dicunt ei possumus

(xx, 25-27) et qui maiores sunt potestatem exercent in eos non ita
 erit inter uos sed quicumque uoluerit inter uos maior fieri erit
 uester minister et qui uoluerit inter uos primus esse erit uester
 seruus.

habent *ff* eis *a ff q* ~ inter uos autem non erit sic *ff*
 erit uester] sit uester *vg*

(xx, 28a-c) uos autem quaeritis (-etis) de pusillis crescere et de
 maiore minores esse intrantes autem et rogati ad c(a)enam
 nolite recumbere in locis eminentioribus ne forte clarior
 superueniat et accedens qui ad caenam uocauit te dicat tibi
 adhuc deorsum accede et confunderis si autem in loco inferiore
 (-i) recubueris et superuenerit humilior te et dicit qui te ad
 caenam uocauit accede adhuc susum et erit hoc tibi utilius
totum capitulum om vg pusillo *vt* de minore maiores

esse *b* in *om.* *ff* ~ *emin.* *loc.* *ff* *clarior*] + *te vt*
 ~ *te ad cen.* *uoc.* *ff* *inferiore ff inferiori abq* et *dicit*]
dicet tibi vt dicit tibi ff ~ *te uoc. ad cen. ff ad cen.*
uoc. te b *susum uide Sabat. superius vt*

(xx, 32-33) *quid uultis ut faciam uobis dicunt illi domine ut*
aperiantur oculi nostri

ut om. a b

(xxi, 25-26) *at illi cogitabant inter se dicentes si dixerimus e (de)*
caelo dicet nobis qua re non credidistis illi si autem dixerimus
ex hominibus timemus turbam omnes enim habebant iohannem
sicut prophetam

intra a b ff *de vt e vg* *qua re*] + *ergo h vg* *cred-*
itis b *habebant a q* *habent b ff vg*

(xxi, 31) *quis ex duobus fecit uoluntatem patris dicunt ei nouissimus*
dicat illi iesus

~ *patr. uol. a b* *nouissimus*] *primus q* *dixit a*
illis vt vg

(xxi, 34-36) *cum autem tempus fructum adpropinquasset misit*
(+ ad) seruos suos ad colonos ut acciperent de fructibus suis
et coloni adprehensis seruis suis unum ceciderunt alium autem
lapidauerunt tertium uero occiderunt iterum misit alios seruos
plures prioribus et fecerunt eis similiter.

~ *temp. aut. a b* ~ *adpropiasset temp. fruct. q* *suos*
om. ff colonos] *agricolas vg* *acciperent b vg* *acciperet*
a ff q de fructibus] *fructus vg* *suis 1° eius a vg* et
col.] col. autem ff agricolae vg suis 2° om. vt +
eius vg unum] alium vg autem] uero ff om. q vg ~
occid. . . lapid. vg tertium] alium vt vg uero] autem a
seruos om. q prioribus om. a eis] *illis*

(xxi, 41) *dixerunt ei malos male perdet et uineam locabit aliis*
colonis qui reddent ei fructus temporibus suis

dixerunt] aiunt a b q vg *dicunt ff* *illi vt vg malos*
om. ff perdet + eos ff uineam] + suam b locauit vt
aliis] illis ff reddant ff h vg ei om. ff fructus b ff
fructum aq vg

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE GEORGIAN AND ARMENIAN GOSPELS

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The text of the Old-Georgian Gospels has engaged much of the writer's attention in recent years.¹ While preparing a critical edition of the version, certain general points have come to light, which appear to bear upon our comprehension of other oriental versions of the Scriptures. Georgian, like Syriac, has preserved for us an earlier and later form of the text; here, too, the older form is essentially complete. In these two idioms we can consequently grasp the translator's technique, as we cannot, for instance, in Armenian, where the extant mss. are regrettably homogeneous.

These principles can best be brought home by commenting on certain specific passages in the text. Accordingly, a set of instances has been chosen, which in all cases, in addition to purely philological interest, involve other and broader implications.

The first series illustrates what might be called specialized or concrete translations. Here and there we find that the Greek text, when describing an action, uses a relatively simple, colorless expression. The translators, on the contrary, inspired by the drama in the story, or perhaps impelled to render a similar divergence in their (non-Georgian or non-Armenian) archetype, replace, against the unanimous testimony of the Greek mss. and of the other versions, this bald and platitudinous expression by some term at once pungent and specific. Such divagations are found in the Georgian and Armenian versions, but are sufficiently uncommon to be considered a phenomenon rather than a symptom. Marr termed these turns of speech 'Targum translations,' and thought that they belonged to the earliest Georgian stratum.²

a) In John 5, 7, when Jesus is talking to the paralytic at the

¹ *Gospel of Mark*, *Patrologia Orientalis* XX, fasc. 3 (Paris 1928); *Gospel of Matthew*, *ibid.* XXIV, fasc. 1 (Paris 1933); see also *The Caesarean Text of Mark* (Harvard Theological Review 21, 1928), pp. 286-314 and 358-375.

² Эчмиадзинский Фрагментъ древне-грузинской версии Ветхого Завета. In *Христианскій Востокъ*, vol. II, 1913, page 387.

pool of Bethesda, the invalid answers the Lord: "Lord, no man have I, when the water eddies (*ταραχθῇ*), who shall cast me into the pool (*lit.* 'plunge, bathing-place,' *κολυμβήθραν*). While I go thither, another will descend before me."

As far as I can trace in the derivative versions, the word *ἐρχομαι* is generally rendered by a verb meaning 'to go' or 'to walk,' but connoting no other shade of meaning. The later Georgian mss. read *მივიდოდი mividodi (ich) hingehte* (from *მიხვდა mislway*), but the Adysh ms. contains the peculiar expression *მი-ვ-ტონტმანებდი mi-v-tontmanebdi*, which was unknown to the author, and seemed to him to indicate a corruption in the text. Through the kindness of his old friend and former colleague, Professor A. G. Šanidze of the Georgian State University at Tiflis,³ it became clear that this was not the case. Šanidze says: "მიტონტმანი is a word still current today, but only in the form *ტონტმანი tortmani*, which means 'to drag one's self along, walk uncertainly, to stagger (from weakness or intoxication).'" In Latin this would be rendered *titubam*. The expression definitely suits in imagery and connotation the gait of a paralytic.

The Georgian translator was inspired by a rendering which he undoubtedly found in his Armenian archetype, for it still survives in the extant Armenian mss. The Armenian uses the expression *դանդաղիմ dandaryim*. The word is employed in a number of places in the Armenian Scriptures, but carries the connotation, as far as I can see, of a slow, dragging walk. It is used in Acts 9, 38 for the Greek *μη δυνήσῃς* (Georgian text here reads: *ნუ გვინიბ*).

b) John 13, 5: At the scene of the Last Supper in John, the Greek has: *εἶτα βάλλει ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα*. The Greek mss., as far as I can ascertain, show no variant for the word *νιπτῆρα*, while the various versions employ expressions connoting either 'washing apparatus' (cf. G^{ab} *საბანელი sabaneli*) or, at most, 'basin.' The Adysh ms., however, uses at this point the concrete and special expression *კონკისა konk'sa*, the Greek *κόγχη* 'shell.' The word *კონკი konk'i*, is familiar to me in Old Georgian in the meaning 'apse,'⁴ but in this passage is apparently employed in the more

³ In a letter to the writer under date of March 14, 1935.

⁴ E.g., in the (unpublished) text of the *Passio XX Monachorum Sabbaitarum* (Tiflis Ts. M. Ms. 95, f. 894b), *konk'i*.

specific sense of 'shell,' to denote a shell-shaped water basin, holy water font or stoup. Here again the expression is taken over from the Armenian text, where we have in Zohrab's edition: *ապա առաւ զուր' առկ' Ի կոնք',* 'and thereupon having taken water he cast it into a shell' (*konk'*). These receptacles were a familiar feature of ancient buildings,⁵ and, it would appear, had passed from Hellenistic society into Jewish circles.⁶ We find in the Talmud and Midrash references to basins of this type, and my friend E. L. Sukenik has called my attention to the occurrence of this word in Palestinian synagogal inscriptions.⁷

On the basis of the evidence presented above, in spite of the fact that the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe here reads *ܠܟܢܐ* *lekanā*, Greek *λεκάνη*, and the Peshittā *ܡܝܫܓܬܐ* *mešagta*, (*lavacrum*), we are inclined to surmise that at some point in the Syriac tradition a ms. (possibly the postulated Syriac text)⁸ exhibited the reading *ܡܝܫܓܬܐ* in this instance. It must be admitted, however, that the Syriac evidence gathered in Payne-Smith only attests the meaning 'apse.' (Payne-Smith, col. 3666.)

The word *կոնք', konk'*, occurs repeatedly in the Armenian Scriptures, but generally signifies 'apse.' One set of passages forms an exception to this—the description of the oblations of the princes in Numbers 7, 13 ff., where the *τροβλιον* in the Greek text is consistently translated by *կոնք', konk'* in the Armenian.

c) Mark 12, 1: *καὶ ὠρυξεν ὑπολήμιον*. The Adysh ms. has for *ὑπολήμιον* *Թճճո՞՞ tagari*,⁹ which is the Armenian *տակար', takar'*, 'cask, vat' (q.v. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* I, 1, p. 257).

⁵ See Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, vol. 1, p. 1431 (s. v. *concha* by E. Saglio).

⁶ See J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, etc., v. 4 (Leipzig, 1889), p. 267, s. v. *קוֹנֵכָה, קוֹנֵכִי*. The same passages are quoted, it would seem, by S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw*, Teil I-II, Berlin, 1898/9; T. II p. 513.

⁷ I did not note at the time where the word occurred, and have been unable to run it down in the literature. The synagogue at Beth Alpha has an apse (see E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, Schweich Lectures, 1930, p. 32), and his publication of this monument, *The Ancient Synagogue at Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem-Oxford, 1932. A basin is mentioned at 'Ain Dūk (Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues*, p. 75), but the word employed is different, *מרישׁת*.

⁸ See *The Caesarean Text of Mark*, p. 320 ff.

The later Georgian mss. have *ხაწებელი sacnekheli, torcular*, 'wine-press.' In Sulkhan Orbeliani's lexicon *tagari* is defined as a 'pit, container for new wine,' with a reference to Haggai 2, 17. The text reads *ცადილის ხაჭობი tkbilis sadgomi*, but the new edition by Šanidze and Qipšidze has *ცყბილის tqbilis*, which is a *vox nihili*. Actually the word is found in the text of the Moscow Bible of 1743, in Haggai 2, 16, where it represents the Greek *ὕποληνιον*. The Armenian at this point in Mark has *և գար հնաման փարեաց*, 'and a pit of a wine-press he dug.' The word *hncman* or *hndzman* is the regular expression in Armenian for this engine. *Takar* is not used at all in the Biblical text. Both Syriac versions have a word *ܠܚܬܐ* meaning merely 'wine-press,' and the Armenian expression looks like a clumsy attempt to translate the Greek literally. The question consequently arises, whether 1) the specialized meaning of 'vat' or 'cistern' was current in the area (Borčalo or Tao-Klardjet'ia) where the Georgian translation was made, or was Sulkhan Orbeliani familiar with the Armenian wording in this passage;⁹ 2) Was the Greek text taken into account; 3) What did the later Georgians have in mind in replacing this word with the more ordinary expression?

d) John 19. 40: *καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν*. For *ἐνταφιάζειν* the Adysh ms. has *დაცულობა dacyulobay*, a word which is not listed in the lexica, but is obviously connected with the word *ცულობა cuoloba, ἄθλον*. The later Georgian mss. have *დაძვლება dap'wasa*, 'to bury.' Professor Šanidze, whose counsel I sought on this matter, knew of no specific connotation connected with *დაცულობა dacyulobay*, save that of 'carrying out an action.'¹⁰ The question then arises as to whether the word implies specifically 'laying out' or 'preparing a corpse,' or merely signifies 'carrying out a rite.' It is noteworthy that the Armenian text at this point gives *պատել patel, involvere*. The Syriac texts, though varying somewhat in form, all employ the same root, *k-b-r-*, which means definitely 'to bury, to put under the ground.' The Armenian trans-

⁹ In this connection it is interesting to note that Sulkhan Orbeliani's lexicon, s. v. *mena*, says "A place, container; the Kakhetians call *menatar*, which, too, is a place for sweet wine."

¹⁰ We have the full vocalization in this word, just as in the alternative forms *šuramay*: *šromay*.

lator, it would seem, employed a descriptive expression referring to an element in the story, rather than the whole action. The scribe of the Adysh, or its archetype, was endeavoring to generalize somewhat, and used an expression which covers the course of the action rather than a specific section of it.

e) In Matthew 26, 20 and Mark 14, 20, at the scene of the Last Supper, when Jesus says that "He who dippeth his hand into the platter shall betray me," all the Georgian mss. employ the word **პინაკის** *pinak'sa*. This is the Greek word *πίναξ*, 'tablet' or 'plate'; but in this instance the Greek mss. have without exception the word *πρυβλίον*, 'platter.' The Armenian has **սկաւառակ** *skawarak*. This word, perhaps of Persian origin (Hübschmann I, 1, p. 237), is also found in Syriac **ܠܬܝܬܐ** (P.S. col. 2619). Neither of the Syriac versions has this here, but the word **ܠܬܝܬܐ** *legta*, which is an abridged form of the Greek *λεκάνη*. The Palestinian-Syriac here uses the word **ܕܝܫܥܐ** *discus*. *Πίναξ* is used in Syriac in the forms **ܡܢܝܥܐ** and **ܡܢܝܥܐ**, but from Payne-Smith's examples I fail to see evidence for the sense of 'platter' in Syriac.

In Matthew 14. 8, 11 and Mark 6. 25, 28, where Salome asks for the head of St. John on a platter, the Greek text has *πίνακι*, and both Syriac versions have the same expression. Here, however, the Armenian uses the word **սկտեղ**¹¹ *skteγ*, which is the Greek *σκυτέλλα*, *σκυτάλη*, and the Georgian has **ლანკლა** *lanklay* and *lanknay*. This word looks suspiciously like a diminutive form of Latin *lanx*. In Mk. 6,28 the later Georgian mss. have the Armenian word *p'eškhuemi* B, but in A *p'eškhueni*.

A second group of expressions in the Georgian reflect, in one form or another, theological points of view, sometimes quite definitely.

John 13. 26, 27: **შესახებელი** *šesasumeli*, takes the place of the Greek *ψωμιον*, 'sop.' The word merely means 'drinking vessel' in Georgian. The later mss. all have **პური** *puri*, 'bread.' This reading can only have arisen in an attempt entirely to preclude the possibility that Jesus gave the Host to Judas. Later revisers, however, saw that the account itself is clear on that point, and hence restored the simple original expression. The dogmatic implications cannot be pressed too far, as replacing the Host by the chalice

¹¹ The nominative form is not attested; see Hübschmann, A.G. I, 2, p. 380.

does not wholly obviate possible sacramental implications. The scene does, however, appear to be more susceptible of a natural than an allegorical interpretation when the sop is removed from the picture.

Matthew 6. 9-13; Luke 11. 2-4: The word *ἐπιούσιον* in the Lord's Prayer is translated in the Adysh ms. by *სამარადისო* *samaradisoy*, an adjective from *მარადის* *maradis* (from *მარად(რ)ის* *marad(γ)is* 'always,' patterned after the Armenian *համապაզորդ* *hanapazord*, 'daily,' which in turn harks back to the Syriac *ܐܡܝܢ* 'continuous, regular.' The later Georgian mss. give *არსობისა* *arsobisay*, *substantialis*.

More complex, and, I admit, less certain in interpretation, is the peculiar expression, *გადრუცი* *gadruc'i*, in John 13. 29. The word appears in all the Georgian versions, which fact *à priori* implies that it is an ancient expression which yet remained familiar to the mediaeval Georgians. What its meaning is no one seems to know, and, as far as I am aware, it appears in none of the lexica, including that of Sulkhan Orbeliani. A. G. Šanidze pointed out to me¹² that Sulkhan Orbeliani adduces a related form *tagruc'i* (with metathesis of the first two consonants), which he defines as *მაღლა ნაშენი ზეგლევი* 'a high-built tomb,' this is not a 'barrow' (of a tomb), Šanidze thinks, but a 'reliquary.' This would fit in well with the general semantic connotations of the passage.

The Georgian word is obviously not a native one, but I can find no possible equivalent in Armenian, where we should expect **գադրույց* '*gadruc*,' or **կադրույց* '*kadroic*,' with epenthesis of the *ի*. It represents the Greek *γλωσσόκομιον* whose significance is more than hazy, but appears in Hellenistic times to mean a box equipped with a strap or thong.¹³ The Syriac versions used a transliteration of the Greek term, and the Armenian translator certainly took it to mean 'box,' as the equivalent *արկայ* *arkay*, (Latin *arcula*), 'chest,' shows. My colleague, Professor H. A. Wolfson, very acutely sug-

¹² In the letter cited above, p. 358.

¹³ It is interesting that the word *glossokomeion* has been taken over into Georgian in the form *luskuma* or *luskma*. The word is quoted by Tchubinoŋ² with reference to IV Kings 27. 17. This term, it would appear, came in through the Arabic. It also appears in the form *luskumi* in the Georgian version of Barlaam and Joasaph (See N. Marr, *Z. V. O.* 3 (1888), p. 239).

gested that this word might be connected with the Syriac and Hebrew קֶדֶר, קֶדֶר 'pot.' The word in Aramaic is pronounced *qedrā*. Two diminutive forms are cited by Payne-Smith, both of them being from the lexica. They are *qedūrtā*, ԳԵԴՄԻ and *qīdrutā*, ԳԵԴՄԻ. We would have here, then, an interesting example of a word borrowed in the diminutive form (like *testacium*) with the voicing of the guttural surd in Anlaut. It is a well known fact that the ʿ in Գ was softened, and in some cases (as in mediaeval Hebrew) came to be pronounced as *ts*. This would yield *g c'* in Armenian.¹⁴

Whether the etymology given above is correct is a question, but certainly *à priori* considerations enter in here which are relevant. First of all, we are dealing with a receptacle (closed or open), which contained money. This by the nature of things could be, a) a box; b) a purse or wallet; c) a bowl. It is also evident that if c) is adopted, we move into an earlier and more primitive sphere, where the concept of the Twelve involved what to the oriental mind was the chief duty of the disciple—that of begging for his master—for the *gadruc'i* could only be the begging bowl.

It is not my purpose to gather together here a full series of errors and peculiarities in the Georgian which have to be ascribed to a misunderstood Armenian original. Mistakes are relatively rare, especially in the Gospels, where continued, unremitting liturgical use tended to iron out any such divagations, and consequently such cases as we find are confined to the older text, *i.e.*, to the Adysh ms. Thus, Mt. 14, 1 Թորոճս Շ'ororodsa for *τέρας* is perhaps a misunderstood Armenian շորորդ *c'orrord*, *fourth*, or derived from a corrupted form of it, as the Georgian translator must needs have comprehended the Armenian numeral չորք *č'ork'* *four*. The expression Խառնակառար *hatavačarac'* (John 2, 15: cf. Mt. 21, 12) 'money changers' becomes ցեղան ձգյալթղոս *'seed sellers'* in the Georgian, and has been commented on elsewhere.¹⁵

¹⁴ The whole question of the transcriptions of sibilants in loan words current in Armenian and Georgian needs a careful re-examination. Why 'Tyre' should be 'Cor' in the older Georgian mss. and in Armenian, is not merely answered by the fact that it is a transcription of the Syriac *Šor*. The real problem is why the unvoiced explosive was taken to represent the emphatic *šin*, just as in *Mcvin*, *Nisibis*. Why, however, do we have *ekyec'i* in Armenian for Greek *ekklēsia*?

¹⁵ The Caesarean Text of Mark, p. 295.

Such lapses, however, are not the most significant criteria for determining the original language whence the version was made. More interesting are certain expressions which might be called familiar errors.

The Armenian words *կատարի* and *կոտորի* are much alike in form, but not in meaning. *Katarel* means to 'finish, complete, achieve,' but *kotorel* is 'to destroy' or 'to demolish.' These words were stumbling-blocks for the Georgian translators, who were continually confusing them. Thus Mt. 2, 15 we have *յիփրյ Բերիւրէմք ի քրոճենէս* 'until the finish (i.e., death) of Herod', and the same expression occurs in Mt. 2, 19 *Ի ալլաճն ի Բերիւրէն* 'when Herod met his end'.

Another potent source of error was the close likeness between *ընկենում* *enkenum* 'I throw, cast' and *անկանիմ* *ankanim* 'I fall,' as the following examples show. In Mt. 4, 6 Satan says to Jesus in the Adysh and Opiza mss. *յարձայարձի* 'fall down,' but the Tbet' ms., which reflects more closely the Greek, has *յարձայցայ* 'cast thyself down.' So, too, in Mark 11, 23, referring to the mountain in the simile, AB have *შთայარձი* 'fall,' while the Adysh reads *შთაეცდა* *inici*.

The ordinary Armenian expression for 'other,' *alius*, is *այլ* *ayl*, but for 'another,' *alter*, the word *միւս* *mius* was employed. This in form and pronunciation coincided or nearly so with the oblique cases of *մի* 'one.' This explains the presence of such phrases as Mt. 12, 13 *յանդուրձա յերի յոտիւն յոտի* 'The hand recovered like the one': Mt. 21, 29, *միւս յոտին մն*, 'he came to the one.' Cf. also John 19, 32, *յիւր յոտին մն*, 'also to the one.'

In Georgian we have a regular expression *შეხება* *shekhebay* meaning 'to touch,' but the form used is the causative: *შეახ* *sheakho* (cf. Mark, 5, 27) means 'he caused himself to touch him.' The simple stem is not intransitive in meaning in Georgian. This queer phrase arises from the Armenian *մերձացուցանիմ* *merdzac'uc'anem*, a causative formation from the adverb *մերձ* *merdz* 'near.' This is no native Armenian expression, but is modelled on the Syriac ܡܕܬܬܐ, the *pa'el* form of ܡܕܬܬܐ which in Syriac means 'to touch.'

վաղի *variw* 'early' is not infrequently confused by Georgian

translators with *վազվազսի* *vaṡvaṡaki* 'swiftly,' and also vice versa. Mt. 28, 7, *აღრე წაჩქედით* 'go early'; Mt. 28, 7, *აღრე აღრე* 'early early' i.q. 'very early,' but the text can only mean 'very swiftly.' The reduplication is an attempt to imitate that in the word *vaṡvaṡaki*. Cf. also John 19, 34, *აღრე აღრე* 'quickly.'

Not infrequently we find in Georgian that the verb *დგამა*/*dgomay*/*dgmay* 'to stand' is employed in the sense of 'to possess,' usually in the reflexive aspect. This is an Armenian idiom, as *kal* in Armenian means both 'to stand' and 'to have' or 'to possess.' Thus we find Mt. 12, 11 *ჩადგესა ედგას ცხრვაზი ეთით* 'who has (lit. to whom is standing) a sheep': Mt. 13, 46 *ყოველი ჩაეკა ედგა*, 'all whatsoever he had'.

It has seemed worth while to draw up the preceding list of mis-translations, even though the main thesis they support is now generally recognized by New Testament scholars, namely, that the Old Georgian Scriptures were translated from the Armenian, but as they are all words of frequent occurrence, they are of value in determining the provenance of non-biblical texts.

A NOTE ON GREEK CIPHERS

SILVA LAKE

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While working on the manuscripts in the library of the Badia di Santa Maria di Grottaferrata, in the summer of 1936, I found in some of them a cipher which was apparently unintelligible to A. Rocchi, the author of the catalogue, who merely transcribed these notes. It is probable that this cipher has been noted and interpreted by some of the students who have worked on these manuscripts, but I have not myself found any references to it. Unfortunately I was unable to obtain photographs of the manuscripts in Grottaferrata which contained it, though I hope within the next few months to do so, but on looking over the negatives of dated manuscripts which I had taken in Russia the previous winter I found another example of the "Grottaferrata cipher." This I reproduce on Plate I.

As will be seen on the photograph of f. 169 r., the scribe was evidently much interested in ciphers though, as usual, there seems no reason why the facts which he chooses to obscure in this manner should not have been given in plain Greek. About half-way down the column the scribe's name is written in uncial in the usual transpositional cryptogram:

Ξ Β V Θ Β Ο
 μ η χ α η λ
 Ξ Λ Ν Θ V Λ Ω
 μ ο ν α χ ο σ

At the bottom of the column, in the same cipher¹ but in minuscule, is:

ψεολψβω
 τελοστησ

σεοψλχ
 δελτου

¹The scribble at the top of the next column, in the same form of cipher, but an obviously later hand, reads

βσθννεθξθεψλοσ = ηωαννι αμαρτολω

Between these statements are two further cryptograms, of which the lower is in the "Grottaferrata cipher." The key to this is arithmetical. Each letter is to be given its numerical value and to decipher the cryptogram each group of characters included under one set of lines is to be added together,—the sum being the letter intended.

Thus, Leningrad 71 reads at this point:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \kappa\kappa &= 20 + 20 = 40 = \mu \\
 \beta\beta &= 2 + 2 = 4 = [\eta]\delta \\
 \tau\tau &= 300 + 300 = 600 = \chi \\
 \rho\rho &= \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} = 1 = \alpha \\
 \beta\beta &= 2 + 2 = 4 = [\eta]\delta \\
 \iota\kappa &= 10 + 20 = 30 = \lambda \\
 , \\
 \kappa\kappa &= 20 + 20 = 40 = \mu \\
 \lambda\mu &= 30 + 40 = 70 = o \\
 \kappa\lambda &= 20 + 30 = 50 = \nu \\
 \rho\rho &= \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} = 1 = \alpha \\
 \tau\tau &= 300 + 300 = 600 = \chi \\
 \lambda\mu &= 30 + 40 = 70 = o \\
 \rho\rho &= 100 + 100 = 200 = \sigma
 \end{aligned}$$

It is interesting that $\overline{\beta\beta}$ appears twice for η when it actually means δ . The normal sign here would have been $\delta\delta$, and it is clear from the preceding cryptogram that the author intended η to be read in the first syllable as well as in the last.

Another example of this cipher differs in some respects. In one, of the manuscripts in Grottaferrata is the following:

$$\begin{aligned}
 ,, \kappa\kappa\delta\delta\kappa\epsilon\epsilon & \quad \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \quad 20 + 20 \quad 4 + 4 \quad 25 + 25 \\
 & \quad 1 = \alpha \quad 40 = \mu \quad 8 = \eta \quad 50 = \nu
 \end{aligned}$$

This scribe uses ,, where the first has $\rho\rho$: and he also prefers a symmetrical arrangement of each group of letters. For example, he indicates ν (50) by $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$, where the other scribe has $\kappa\lambda$ for the same sum and $\lambda\mu$ for o (70).



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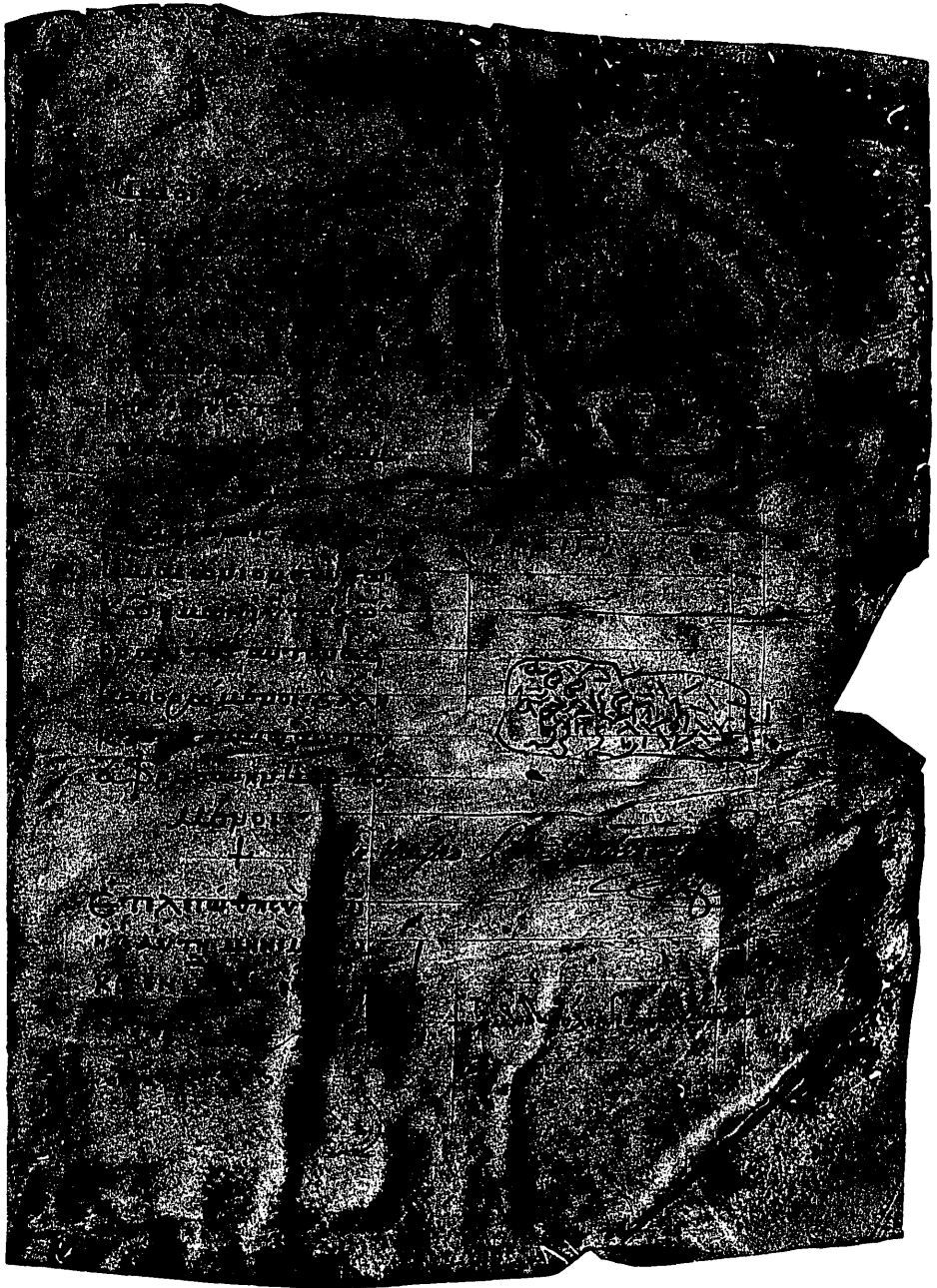
$$\begin{array}{rclcl}
 \kappa\kappa & = & 20 + 20 & = & 40 = \mu \\
 \beta\beta & = & 2 + 2 & = & 4 = [\eta]\delta \\
 \tau\tau & = & 300 + 300 & = & 600 = \chi \\
 \rho\rho & = & \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} & = & 1 = \alpha \\
 \beta\beta & = & 2 + 2 & = & 4 = [\eta]\delta \\
 \iota\kappa & = & 10 + 20 & = & 30 = \lambda \\
 , & & & & \\
 \kappa\kappa & = & 20 + 20 & = & 40 = \mu \\
 \lambda\mu & = & 30 + 40 & = & 70 = \sigma \\
 \kappa\lambda & = & 20 + 30 & = & 50 = \nu \\
 \rho\rho & = & \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} & = & 1 = \alpha \\
 \tau\tau & = & 300 + 300 & = & 600 = \chi \\
 \lambda\mu & = & 30 + 40 & = & 70 = \sigma \\
 \rho\rho & = & 100 + 100 & = & 200 = \sigma
 \end{array}$$

It is interesting that $\overline{\beta\beta}$ appears twice for η when it actually means δ . The normal sign here would have been $\delta\delta$, and it is clear from the preceding cryptogram that the author intended η to be read in the first syllable as well as in the last.

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$$\begin{array}{rclclcl}
 ,, \kappa\kappa\delta\delta\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon & \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} & 20 + 20 & 4 + 4 & 25 + 25 \\
 & 1 = \alpha & 40 = \mu & 8 = \eta & 50 = \nu
 \end{array}$$

This scribe uses ,, where the first has $\rho\rho$: and he also prefers a symmetrical arrangement of each group of letters. For example, he indicates ν (50) by $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$, where the other scribe has $\kappa\lambda$ for the same sum and $\lambda\mu$ for σ (70).



και οι αφοιδοι και
 οι αμαρτωλοι εστι
 ων το αιωμα ον
 χιμι κομιοι το πα
 ρημιν αμοιοι οιδ
 ο το οιδ τα εαθα
 προχατω εκμα
 ψοι ον το ον το ο
 σιμ ημροις εστω
 ηω αιωμα ον σιμ το
 κο ημω ην το ηω
 ορρω τα αι το ηω
 και ορρω μροις ελλη
 κτομ ημω ην το ηω
 εφρο σιμ ημω ην το
 ημροις

+

Ex Museo Lotii Rubens

ετελειωθη κενω
 η βαλτη μνημω
 κβ ενι ην ε
 εκτηρα ε
 ο κωφω ην

α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν
 ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω
 α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν
 ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω

α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν
 ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω

α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν
 ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω

One line in Leningrad 71, between the two different cryptograms of *μηχανη μοναχος*, remains unexplained. It has been suggested that this is a third, abbreviated, form of the same name, each of the two words being expressed in three oddly shaped letters. Though I confess that I have no better suggestion this does not entirely convince me, and if the triple repeated letters in the lower right are more than idle scribble I have not penetrated their secret.

On Plate II I have reproduced another baffling puzzle. Clearly the lines in the right-hand column have some meaning and that meaning is expressed in mathematical terms. Possibly it is an exercise in arithmetic, in which case it has no place here, but I have been unable to decipher it as such. On the other hand, I have also been unable to decipher it in any other way.

In conclusion, it seems probable that the cipher explained above originated in Italy. Leningrad 71 has all the characteristics usually claimed as Italian and the manuscripts in Grottaferrata which contain it were certainly written in Italy. Moreover, as yet I know it only in eleventh century manuscripts. The evidence is too slight for certainty, but it may be that this particular form of cryptogram was characteristic of some one South Italian monastery in the eleventh, or eleventh and twelfth centuries.





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Fe 28 '53	816 E 17 st

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